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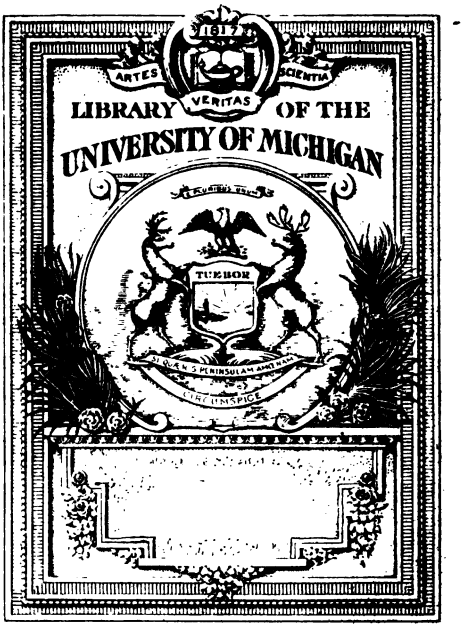
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MEMOIRS OF CHRISTINA,

QUEEN OF SWEDEN.

VOL. I.

Christina

Queen of Sweden.

MEMOIRS OF CHRISTINA,

11448

QUEEN OF SWEDEN.

BY

HENRY WOODHEAD.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
HURST AND BLACKETT, PUBLISHERS,
SUCCESSORS TO HENRY COLBURN,
13, GREAT MARLBOROUGH STREET.
1863.

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DALZIEL BROTHERS, CAMDEN PRESS, LONDON.

PREFACE.

FEW eminent persons have had less justice done to them by posterity than Christina.

Protestants felt such indignation at her conversion, that they were prejudiced against any account which placed her character in a favourable light, and this must be one reason why so striking and interesting a life has not been written already in English by some abler hand.

Several Lives of Christina have been published in French, German, Swedish, and Italian, but they are generally extravagantly hostile, or unreasonably eulogistic.

The memoirs by Archenholtz, indeed, are generally fair; but they are so excessively voluminous as to be almost the work of a life. They are so prolix and digressive that few persons would read them through for amusement.

I have not suppressed any unfavourable traits in Christina's character which are supported by reasonable evidence; but I have endeavoured to show that her genius, and the services she rendered to art, science, and learning, have not hitherto been acknowledged in any popular work.

The time has gone by in England, when justice was denied to all who did not hold our orthodox creed; and if the "Memoirs of Christina" fail to be attractive, the reason will be that an interesting subject has not been properly handled.

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The Early Chronicles of Sweden—Progress of Civilization in the North—The Union of Calmar—Christian the Tyrant, of Denmark—Gustavus Vasa and the Four Orders in the State—Religious Controversies, and the Fortunes of the Vasa Family—Deposition and Murder of Eric—Reign of John III.—His Liturgy—Changes in his Religious Opinions—Rivalry of Sigismund, King of Poland, and Duke Charles—The Synod of Upsala—Gustavus Adolphus—Birth of Christina—Astrological Predictions—Details concerning the Infancy of the Princess—The System of Education adopted for her—John Matthiæ appointed her Tutor—Superintendence of John Skytte and Oxenstiern—Christina's subsequently expressed opinions on the Importance of a Good Education—Letter of Gustavus Adolphus to the Chancellor Oxenstiern—Death of Gustavus Adolphus—Details concerning his Reign, and Observations on his Personal Character—State of Civilization in Sweden on Christina's accession 1

upon them, she can hardly be considered a member of the great family of European States before the accession of the Vasa dynasty. Although several able kings had worn her crown, they could only temporarily check the anarchy caused by the turbulence of the nobles and the ambition of the clergy.

It was chiefly to these early kings that Sweden owed such a degree of civilization as prepared the way for the Vasas.

The improvement which was brought about in England by the alliance of the nobles and the commons, was caused in Sweden by the support which the kings gave to the people. Even the names of some of these sovereigns proclaim the benefits of their rule, as Brőt Anund, the road maker, and Magnus Ladulås, the barn protector It is remarkable that although the kings lost much of their importance when they ceased to be the high priests of the Upsala sacrifices, still they were the earliest and most zealous supporters of Christianity.

The enmity of the Theban brothers, depicted by the Greek poets as the climax of fraternal discord, was exceeded by the fierce race of the Folkungar, and it needs the imagination of Dante to describe

their crimes, yet, withal, they were really the "people's kings." They atoned, in some degree, for their enormities, by wise and just laws. They abolished the trial by ordeal, and the strange custom, little in accordance with the boasted freedom of the North, of poor people giving themselves away as slaves (Gåfvotrålar.)

They also prohibited the barbarous practice of plundering wrecks, and making slaves of the survivors.

King Magnus went further than this, and made a law that no one born of Christian parents should either be, or be called, a slave. A less worthy proof of his religion was a crusade against Russia, when he gave the natives the choice of baptism or death. The *Rhyme Chronicle* says that he shaved and baptized all he could catch, but quaintly adds that the Russian beards grew again, and that Magnus was driven back to Sweden with disgrace.

The union of Calmar, in 1397, might have joined three nations which belonged to the same race, and spoke the same language, but the tyranny and folly of the Danish sovereigns prevented this result.

The clergy gave their support to the tyrants, and

the courage and patriotism of Engelbrechtson and the Stures could not break the iron yoke of Denmark.

It was mainly by the support of the Archbishop Gustaf Troll, that the power of Christian the Tyrant was established.

This execrable king had a great taste for divinity. He corresponded with Luther, and at the same time wrote to the Pope about the canonization of two new saints. He openly favoured the Reformation in Denmark, and pleaded a Papal Bull as the excuse for his blood-bath in Stockholm.

It is seldom that an individual has exercised so great an influence on the destiny of a nation as was done by Gustavus Vasa. The four orders in the State were the king, the nobles, the clergy, and the peasants. When the Stures attempted to substitute law and justice for violence and anarchy, they were opposed by the three first orders. The genius of Gustavus himself could not have resisted such a coalition. It was his good fortune to find the power of the nobles weakened by the tyranny of Christian. He reaped the advantage, without incurring the odium of their temporary depression.

He boldly seized the favourable moment to demolish the power of the clergy, and to increase

his own in the same degree. He alternately caressed and intimidated the nobles. He would not listen to the petition of the peasants, that any one who ate meat on Friday might be burnt alive, and he chastised them when they revolted.

It was long before the new religion was firmly established in Sweden. Gustavus exercised moderation as well as vigour. He wrote to Laurentius Petri, the first Protestant Archbishop of Upsala, "The people must first learn, and then reform."

Religion had so much to do with the fortunes of the Vasa family, that the position of Christina's branch, and her own title to the throne, require some mention to be made of the controversies.

The eldest son of Gustavus Vasa, the unfortunate Eric, was first deposed and afterwards murdered by the orders of his brother John. The bishops and leading ecclesiastics gave their formal sanction to the murder, and interlarded the sentence with religious expressions, as that, "It was good for one man to die for the people." Duke Charles, the third brother, took no part in the crime.

Duke John seized the throne; he intended to have treated Eric's son, Gustavus, as the English

John treated his nephew, but the boy's life was saved by Eric Sparre, who sent him abroad, where the grandson and legitimate heir of Gustavus Vasa lived in such poverty that at one time he was reduced to clean the boots and attend the horses of travellers.

John III. was a man of considerable learning. He spoke several languages, he had devoted much study and attention to theological subjects, and had increased the bitterness of a naturally unamiable temper by his researches into the controversies of the Fathers. His reign was contemporaneous with that of our own Elizabeth, and like her he appears to have aimed at a middle course between the ancient and reformed religion.

He was influenced considerably by his wife, Catharine Jagellonica, who was a zealous Roman Catholic, although even her enemies praised her piety, her beauty, and her gentleness.

The dresses and ceremonies of the Catholic Church were restored; two Jesuits came to Stockholm in the disguise of Lutherans, and assisted in the compilation of John's celebrated Liturgy. Most of the bishops and clergy subscribed to this form, and a sturdy old Lutheran bishop was

stripped of his gown in front of his own house, because he had called the Pope Antichrist.

John was secretly admitted into the Roman Catholic Church, and it is believed that one motive for this step was his desire to receive absolution from the highest authority for his brother's murder.

After he had received absolution, and after his wife's death in 1583, John's religious opinions underwent a great change. He now deprived the Catholics of their benefices, shut up their churches, banished the Jesuits, and reversed all his former proceedings except those relating to his Liturgy.

Some of the Lutheran clergy, who had only subscribed to it from the desire to keep their livings out of the hands of the Philistines, thought that they might now venture to show their true opinions, but John would have no one's conscience move faster than his own. The recusants were deprived, imprisoned, or banished.

A rector of Stockholm, named David Batt, was rash or enthusiastic enough to argue some points with the King.

John summed up his reasons by knocking his opponent down, and stamping upon him so violently as to injure him for life. His son, Sigismund,

the cousin and rival of Christina, had expectations which were soon realized, of being elected to the Polish throne, and John brought him up in a way which he thought would be acceptable to the Swedes as well as to the Poles. Although a Roman Catholic, Sigismund was obliged to attend the Lutheran services. His tutor, Arnold Grothusen, ventured to state that the youth had little time left for other studies, and to hint that it was difficult to join conscientiously in two contrary and hostile communions; but John told him, in a threatening manner, "Educabis filium meum in spem utriusque regni."

After John changed his own religion, he wished his son to become a Lutheran, but Sigismund, less fickle, though more moderate than his father, declined to renounce his faith.

Sigismund was already King of Poland when his father died, and Duke Charles was appointed Regent in Sweden. Religion soon offered a ready means of supplanting his nephew, for Sweden had now heartily embraced the Lutheran creed.

The famous Synod of Upsala, the foundation of the Swedish National Church, was held in February, 1593.

The assembled bishops and clergy unanimously agreed to abjure John's Liturgy.

Many of them had received benefices in return for written engagements to support it, and they now entreated Duke Charles to cancel or restore these documents, but he was too shrewd to let these dignitaries out of his power, and the papers were all deposited in the Swedish chancery.

It is unnecessary to follow the steps which resulted in open war between Charles and his nephew. In the year 1600 the States formally renounced their allegiance to Sigismund, and in 1604 Charles was crowned.

Charles had married Christina, daughter of the Duke of Sleswig-Holstein, and the fruit of this union was the illustrious Gustavus Adolphus, born at Stockholm, the 9th of December, 1594.

One of the most invariable attributes of a great man, is a wideness of view which leads him to look beyond what is present and immediate. Though he may not be exempt from his share of selfishness, his mind is too large to be occupied exclusively about the events in which he is an actor. He endeavours to look to their consequences, and, in imagination, to see them continued after his own

brief career is closed, and he is magnanimous enough to struggle for advantages in which he cannot hope to partake.

Gustavus Adolphus certainly possessed this characteristic of a great man; though not altogether free from a more vulgar ambition, he never lost sight of certain great objects, the freedom of religion, the external glory and internal prosperity of his country. His victories were only so many steps towards these objects, and he had fondly desired a son who might learn from him the arts of war and government, and continue the work which he had begun.

This wish was never gratified. Married, in 1620, to the beautiful Maria Leonora, of Brandenburg, he had, in 1621, a daughter, who lived only a few hours, and in 1623 another daughter, who received the name of Christina, but died before she was a year old. The astrologers, who were still in fashion, now ventured to depart from their usual vague style of prediction, and to prophesy that the Queen would have a son. They also said that one of three events would happen, either of which was probable enough. They foreboded that the child's birth would be followed immediately by

its death, or by the death of its mother, or by that of Gustavus himself, who had just returned, sick and exhausted, from a campaign in Poland.* It appeared, at first, that the seers had made a fortu nate guess, for, on the 8th of December, 1626, it was announced, to the joy of the parents, and of the Swedish Court, that the Queen was delivered of a male child.

It was remarked that the sun, Venus, Mercury, and Mars, were in the same signs they had been thirty-two years before, at the birth of Gustavus himself, when the illustrious Tycho Brahe had not disdained to cast his horoscope, and to predict that he would be a king.

Great were the lamentations when it was found the child was really a girl, but had been taken for a boy because it was dark and ugly, and cried with a loud, rough voice.

No one liked to explain the mistake to the King. At last his sister, the Princess Catharine, took the child in her arms and announced to him that he had a daughter. Gustavus was too noble to show any vexation, even if he felt it. He kissed the child and said, "Let us thank God, sister; I hope

* Grauert—'Christina Königinn und ihr Hof.'

this girl will be as good as a boy." His sister reminded him that he was still young, and might have a boy afterwards; but he required no such consolation. He said, "Sister, I am content; and pray God to preserve this child." He added, smiling, "This will be an arch girl, she puts tricks upon us so soon."*

It was said that, at her baptism, the Lutheran minister who officiated, inadvertently made the sign of the cross, contrary to the practice of his church, although this anecdote has rather the appearance of being invented subsequently.

Maria Leonora did not show such equanimity as her husband, when informed of the child's sex; she took a dislike to her because she was not a boy, and because she was ugly.

Christina appears to have remembered this with considerable bitterness; and states in her memoirs that her attendants frequently let her drop on purpose, thinking that it would not displease her mother if she were quietly disposed of.†

* Lacombe, 'Histoire de Christine.'—Grauert, 'Christina Königinn.'—'Vie par elle-même.'—Archenholtz.

† 'Vie par elle-même.' Chap. iv.

This is a most improbable story; but she might naturally feel some anger at the carelessness of her attendants, as one of these accidents had the effect of injuring her right shoulder, and causing it to be permanently somewhat higher than the other, a defect, however, which was afterwards concealed by her dress.

In the spring of 1627, Gustavus Adolphus returned to Poland, where, as usual, victory attended his arms, but where he was seriously wounded.

Influenced, perhaps, by the danger he had just escaped, he induced the States, on his return, to acknowledge Christina as his successor.

During the time that he remained in Sweden, he took the most lively interest in all that concerned his child. When about two years old, she had a dangerous illness, while Gustavus was on a tour inspecting some mines; couriers were sent to inform him; and his anxiety to see her was so great, that he outstripped them all in his return to Stockholm. After her recovery, he took her on a tour with him. When the royal party arrived at the fortified town of Calmar, the commandant was doubtful whether he should fire the usual salute, as he feared it might alarm the child. The

King, however, ordered him to fire, saying, "She is a soldier's daughter, and must get accustomed to it."

So far was Christina from being frightened at the noise, that she evinced the greatest delight, and though unable to talk, she clapped her hands, and made signs that she wished the firing to be repeated. Her father's care, however, could not supply the place of a mother's tenderness. He desired that she should be educated in all respects like a prince, and that none of the sentiments of her sex should be cultivated except virtue and modesty. Her own inclinations seconded these directions; she always preserved an extreme aversion for feminine employments, and for the society of women. She used to say that she liked men, not because they were men, but because they were not women. No doubt the foundation of many of her eccentricities was laid in this way at a very early age.

The time was now approaching when the genius of Gustavus Adolphus was to be displayed on a wider stage. He left Sweden in 1630, never to return, but to acquire in the short space of two years a fame seldom, if ever, surpassed for military

ability—a fame ennobled by piety and humanity. The Emperor called him a king of snow, who would soon disappear in the sun of the south, but another adversary said more justly that Gustavus came into Germany with a small force, but as a snow-ball rolling from the top of a mountain is formed into a great mass, so he, passing from one enterprise to another, had no less than ten armies under his banners at the time of his death.*

Christina was not four years old when she parted with her illustrious father, but even at that tender age she reciprocated his affection so strongly that she wept incessantly for days after his departure, and an anecdote told of the great Gustavus shows that his heart was equally tender. Shortly before he sailed for Germany, while he was actively engaged in the necessary preparations, Christina went to him one day with a little speech which had been carefully prepared for the occasion. The King was just giving some important orders, and did not attend to her at first, but the child would not be put off; she went up to him and pulled him towards her by his sword-belt. The

* Galeazzo Gualdo—'Historia della Sacra Real Maestà di Christina Alessandra, Regina di Suezia.' Roma, 1656. P. 5.

heart of the hero was touched by this silent appeal: he took her in his arms, and burst into tears.

The parting would have been dismal indeed if they had known they were never to meet again; that she would be so soon deprived of his care, and left in the most difficult position, to be guided by her weak mother, by rude soldiers, designing statesmen, and unprincipled adventurers.

Gustavus left her in charge of her only aunt, his sister Catharine, who was married to the Palatine John Casimir, and who was a princess in every way worthy of the trust.

Her governor was Axel Banér, a senator of Sweden, and grand master of the royal household. His father had perished on the scaffold under Charles IX., but Gustavus converted a hostile and injured family into devoted adherents and friends. It was happy for Sweden that he did so, for John Banér retrieved the fortunes of his country when they appeared well nigh desperate.

Axel Banér did not take any very active part in the management of Christina, and she speaks rather contemptuously of him in her memoirs, as of a rude and somewhat licentious soldier.*

* 'Vie par elle-même,' Chap. viii.

Gustavus showed great judgment in his choice of John Matthiæ for her tutor. It was he who inspired one of her most admirable qualities, the spirit of toleration. He was a man of great learning, of mild, pure, and simple character. He was long engaged in attempting to reconcile the conflicting religions—a scheme which, chimerical as we may now consider it, was thought possible at that time by men of the greatest wisdom and learning, by Erasmus, Cassander, Casaubon, and Hugo Grotius.

His gentle spirit and innocent life could not save him from the persecution of the Lutheran clergy. He published a book, in 1656, on religious toleration, which was fiercely attacked, as well as one he wrote afterwards on the same subject,* called "Rami Olivæ Septentrionalis." For this last work he was formally accused of heresy. He was ultimately obliged to resign his bishopric of Strengnäs; but his children were ennobled, and received the appropriate name of Oljequists, or Olive-branches.†

* Ranke, 'History of the Popes,' Vol. II., p. 358.—Catteau Catteville, 'Histoire de Christine.' Vol. I., p. 281.

† Biographie Universelle. Art. Matthiæ.

The general superintendence of Christina was committed to John Skytte during the absence of Oxenstiern. She describes him as pompous and pedantic—an account quite in accordance with the favour he received from James the First, who paid him great attention, and knighted him. He was Chancellor of the University of Upsala, the noble endowment of which, by Gustavus Adolphus, was said to have been caused by his influence. Skytte also founded schools in Lapland, partly at his own expense. There was a good deal of jealousy between him and Oxenstiern, caused principally by Skytte's democratic feelings. On one occasion he came late to the council, which Oxenstiern noticed, and said, "He supposed Skytte had been detained studying Machiavelli," to which he replied, "You know him naturally, without study." His jealousy of the great authority of the Regent was no secret. When Oxenstiern returned from Germany, he went to visit Skytte at Grönsjö. One of the latter's children peeped in at the Chancellor, and said, in an audible whisper, "Father, is this one of the little kings?"

Skytte endeavoured to silence the boy, and to change the subject; but Oxenstiern remarked,

gruffly, "The little pigs grunt like the old boar."

Christina's own writings give her opinion of the importance of a good education in childhood. She says, "Important as it is to every one, it is especially so to princes, and those who give them a bad education are not less guilty than those monsters who poison the rivers and wells from which the public supply is drawn." She adds, "It is most true, and every one ought to be aware of it, that the greatest of all misfortunes is to be in the hands of a fool who has unlimited power."*

Two original letters of Christina to her father are preserved among the Swedish archives. They are without date; but, as she was only four years old when he went to Germany, they can hardly have been written before that time. They are in German, and are natural, child-like letters, asking her father to come back to her soon, and, in the meantime, to send her something pretty. Gustavus never came back; but, amidst all his occupations, he thought often and anxiously of his child. He gave the chief care of her to his Chancellor, Axel Oxenstiern, in case of his own death, and a

* Vie par elle-même, Chap. 8.

better choice could not have been made. Oxenstiern was not without important faults; but, in addition to transcendent abilities, he possessed a rare combination of fidelity, integrity, and devotion to duty. In the greatest difficulties he never wavered or faltered; in prosperity or in adversity he showed matchless patience, courage, and sagacity.

The King's letter, in which he recommends his wife and child to Oxenstiern in case of his own death, is particularly interesting. It is not merely the formal charge of a Sovereign, to a subject he esteems and trusts, but also the affectionate appeal of a man to his friend.

It is dated Goldnau, the 4th of December, 1630, and begins:—"My well-beloved Chancellor, the news I have received of your exertions, show your fidelity to me and to your country: those who live will see our success, and posterity will sound your praises, if to your good judgment you join your accustomed diligence and zeal. I would give you more details of our present position, but my hand is too stiff from my recent wounds. I am assembling my troops by the river with the intention of attacking the enemy presently. And, though our

cause is good and just, yet, by reason of our sins, the issue of war is uncertain, neither can we reckon on the duration of life: I therefore exhort and entreat you, by the love of Christ, that, if all does not go on well, you will not lose courage. I conjure you to remember me, and the welfare of my family, and to act towards me and mine as you would have God act towards you and yours, and as I will act to you and yours if it should please God that I survive you, and that your family should have need of me. If any accident happens to me, my family are to be pitied: for my sake and for other reasons. The mother without capacity, the daughter an infant. Unfortunate if they govern, and in danger if others govern them." *

We shall see presently how nobly Oxenstiern obeyed the injunction, "not to lose courage if things did not go well;" with what unwavering fidelity he supported Christina's interests, and how she was in his thoughts to the very hour of his death, when he sighed out his last words, "I knew she would regret—but—still—she is the daughter of the great Gustavus."

* Archenholtz—'Memoires concernant Christine, Reine de Suede.' Tome I. P. 17, 18.

The presentiments of Gustavus were well founded. He fell in the battle of Lutzen, less than two years after the date of this letter.

He has not generally received the title he so well deserved of "The Great," yet many in his own, as well as in later times, have given him a higher name, and called him "The Immortal Gustavus."

All Europe was struck with consternation, or elated with joy, at his death. The once chivalrous Spain showed how great her fear had been, by the dastardly way in which she published her triumph. The rejoicings at Madrid were continued twelve days, and so many bonfires were made, that the police interfered to prevent the excessive consumption of fuel.* Oxenstiern, whose well-regulated mind preserved its calmness through triumphs, anxieties, and reverses, never passed but two sleepless nights—one of them was when he heard the news of his Sovereign's death. All the most important actions of Gustavus Adolphus were performed after the birth of Christina. To give an account of them would be to write his life as well as hers, but a slight notice of his character

* Coxe's 'House of Austria.' Vol. II., p. 268.

may not be misplaced. As a soldier, he was considered the equal of Alexander, Hannibal, Cæsar, and Napoleon, by the last and perhaps the greatest soldier of them all, Napoleon himself. As a man he was superior to any of them. He was faithful to his friends, merciful to his enemies, sincere and unselfish. The first three of these heroes lived before the time of Christianity and religious persecution; the fourth had no particular predilection for any religion, and could easily display an impartiality that cost him nothing. Gustavus Adolphus made religion the rule of his actions, he lived in a time of great religious animosity, and he carried on a religious war—yet he was tolerant. His ambition may be favourably contrasted with that of his renowned compeers. He did not seek to exalt himself by leading one quarter of the world against another, nor did he merely fight for conquest. He did not seek to excite the fierce antipathy of rival nations, for in every country those were his friends who were guided by moderation and humanity. Above all he never sought to overturn the constitution and the liberty of his country, for his own personal aggrandizement. His wars in Poland were entailed

upon him by a disputed succession, and though there may be a difference of opinion about the justice of his father's claim to the crown, the title of Gustavus Adolphus was a good one, when he succeeded to the throne with the unanimous consent of the Swedish States. His father might have said with Henry IV.:—

"Heaven knows, my son,
By what by-paths and indirect crook'd ways,
I met this crown: and I myself know well
How troublesome it sat upon my head:
To thee it shall descend with better quiet,
Better opinion, better confirmation;
For all the soil of the achievement goes
With me into the earth.

. . . . . .

Therefore,
Be it thy course to busy giddy minds
With foreign quarrels: that action hence borne out
May waste the memory of the former days." *

Gustavus Adolphus had no choice but to continue the war with Poland, and it was during his numerous campaigns in that country, that he invented a new system of tactics. Before his time, troops used to be formed nine deep. These heavy masses were difficult to move, were exposed to great havoc from an improved artillery, and a small

* 'Henry IV.' Second part, Act 4, Scene 4.

portion of them only could deliver their fire. Gustavus formed his troops in line three deep, nearly the same as at present, and he also introduced the bayonet and cartridge.

He has been reproached for his ambitious projects in the thirty years' war. The French even suspected him of aiming at a universal monarchy, and instead of continuing their subsidies, they contemplated turning their arms against him at the time of his death.* But France, at this period, was a jealous, and not a very faithful ally. Richelieu, a cardinal of the Roman Church, only leaned towards the Protestant Swedes for the purpose of humbling the House of Austria, but he did not wish Sweden to gain a decided preponderance. He desired to see Germany engaged in continual war, that he might make the influence of France paramount.

Gustavus may have deceived himself a little as to the purity of his motives, but territorial aggrandizement was certainly not his principal object, or he would have accepted the Emperor's proposal to turn against his old rival, the King of Denmark. Gustavus had striven from the beginning of his

* Puffendorf. 'De Reb. Suec.' L. 4. C. 65.

reign to make peace with Denmark, and for that object he offered to resign his title of King of the Lapps, which had been put forward by the Danish Sovereign as a chief cause of the war. He also invited the mediation of the United Provinces, who urged on Christian the injury that would accrue to the Protestant religion from the hostility of its two principal champions.

Christian was not at that time inclined for peace, and he put off the ambassadors with a pun. He told them, "Non agitur de religione, sed de regione."*

Gustavus distinctly set before himself the object of gaining freedom for the oppressed Protestants of Germany, and declared solemnly that this was his chief end. He was also strongly impressed with the idea that Sweden could not avoid being engaged in the general war that was impending, and he thought that his invasion of Germany would be the most effectual means of keeping the scene of war at a distance from Sweden.

The contest with Poland assisted in bringing about the German war. Sigismund was brother-in-law to Ferdinand II., who did not scruple to send

* Chapman, 'Life of Gustavus Adolphus.' P. 59.

troops to assist him, even when Austria was at peace with Sweden, so that by making war on the Empire, Gustavus did not really increase the number of his enemies. The question of peace or war with Austria was, in fact, beyond the control of individual will.

Gustavus succeeded to the throne as the representative of Protestant opinion, to the exclusion of the elder and Catholic branch of his family. Strong as the religious spirit had become in Sweden, the military spirit was stronger still. Every noble was a soldier; if he could not attain a higher grade, he was obliged to serve in the ranks. The army had the right of sending deputies to the grand council, and if Gustavus had wished it he could hardly have ventured to thwart the warlike inclinations of his people, who were anxious to side with their fellow-Protestants against the oppression and cruelty of Ferdinand II.

This religious enthusiasm extended even to his mercenary troops. His Scotch brigade considered a war against Popery as their own cause, and their behaviour offers a most favourable contrast to that of mercenary troops in general. They pre-

served their honour and discipline so faithfully, that, in the military revolt which broke out soon after the death of Gustavus, the Scotch regiments were the only ones that remained true.

For the defence of Sweden Gustavus formed a militia who were called indelta soldiers. They were paid in land, and when called out they received money. They formed a hardy and patriotic body of men, who were well trained and always on the spot. The system was found to work so well that it has been continued with little alteration to the present time, and the indelta troops are said to be unrivalled for sobriety and good conduct.*

One great cause of the misfortunes of Sweden remained in the time of Gustavus Adolphus, the exorbitant power of the aristocracy. The elevation of the Vasa family to the throne was the elevation of one of their own order, who was already allied to many of the great families in Sweden. The royal family continued to intermarry in the same way, and did not wish to set any further bounds to the power of the nobles than was necessary for their own safety.

* Laing, 'Tour in Sweden.' P. 58.

During the reign of Gustavus Adolphus the power of the nobles increased rather than diminished, although two reasons prevented this from being very apparent.

1. The most able and distinguished nobleman in Sweden was Oxenstiern. He was united to the King by a warm and sincere personal friendship, which was only broken by death, and the memory of which lasted as long as the life of the survivor.

2. The King's abilities and reputation were so great, that few would have been rash enough to have placed themselves in antagonism to him. Yet during his time nobles imitated royalty so far as to have a body-guard, and in formal documents a nobleman styled himself "we." They were so exclusive that the marriage of a nobleman with a lady of inferior rank entailed the forfeiture of his property.*

Their privileges were substantial as well as honorary. They were exempt from taxation, and the public functionaries, who were all noblemen, were paid enormously.† The alienation of crown

* 'Kristina Königinn und ihr Hof.' P. 84. Grauert.

† Members of the Council received 18,000 dollars a year, and the High Admiral's pay was 500 dollars a week. Grauert. P. 94.

property was only permitted to nobles, and, of course, increased their influence in proportion as it diminished that of the sovereign.

Although the peasants had been long used to oppression, they did not always bear it with patience, and their dissatisfaction occasionally showed itself in tumults and disturbances; they were even heard to threaten the extermination of the nobles. Gustavus and his great minister wished to encourage trade in Sweden; but the true principles were little understood; and even the wisest regulations are slow in improving a branch of human activity which flourishes best when left to itself.* The Government, moreover, had the monopoly of some trades, of corn in 1628, of salt in 1632, and, as a considerable part of the taxes were paid in kind, these monopolies must have been more than usually injurious.

Every member of the Vasa family seemed to

* Oxenstiern, in einem Gutachten an den Reichschatzmeister (1633), führt als eine Hauptursache der Armuth des Reiches, die Geringfügigkeit der Städte auf, die immer schlecht gewesen, jetzt aber gänzlich verarmt seien, vorzüglich durch die schlechte Beschaffenheit des Handels. Oxens: Bref I. 3. 53f. Apud Grauert.

inherit the love of learning of its great founder, and though Gustavus Adolphus had little leisure he had both read and thought a good deal. His anxiety to promote learning may be gathered from the fact that he endowed the University of Upsala in full possession of his hereditary estate.

He admired the famous work of Grotius, "De Jure Belli et Pacis," so much that he never travelled without it, and used to sleep with it under his pillow. He said, however, "If Grotius were himself engaged in war, he would see that the good lessons he inculcates cannot always be practised."*

His conduct shows that his mind was deeply impressed with principles of justice and public law, and he never forgot the maxim of Grotius, "that persecution is inconsistent with Christianity." As Tertullian says, "The new law does not assert it rights with the sword," and Plato, "The proper punishment of ignorance is to be taught right."†

The Vasas' love of learning had not penetrated

* Archenholtz. Vol. I., p. 6.

† Grotius, 'De Jure Belli et Pacis.' Chap. 20.

the nation very deeply at the time of Christina's accession. They had laid the foundation, and collected the materials; but workmen were wanting to complete the building.

It has been already noticed how much alterations and improvements originated among the rulers in Sweden. Christianity itself was slowly established by the kings against the wish of the people. The Reformation was the work of Gustavus Vasa,—and knowledge, the keenest weapon of democracy, was introduced and fostered by the princes who succeeded him.

A few instances will give an idea of the state of civilization in Sweden when Christina succeeded to the throne. The lower classes were sunk in the deepest ignorance, and many of them still worshipped Odin. The magistrates in general could not write their own names. Medicine was hardly known; the so-called "Doctors" confined their researches to the discovery of the philosopher's stone; if any of them attempted to investigate newer and more useful subjects, they were persecuted as magicians or atheists.*

Monnichof, a foreigner in the service of Sweden,

* Grauert, 'Kristina Königinn und ihr Hof.' Vol. I., p. 121.

said that the Swedes had one King, one religion, and one doctor.*

Astrology was in general repute, and the most enlightened theologians believed in compacts with the devil.

The state of manners corresponded with the state of knowledge.

Entertainments were without elegance, the food was coarse, and the drinking excessive. Oaths were constantly used in the best society, and at the Court itself guests threw glasses in each other's faces.† Carriages were hardly known. Houses were plain and ugly, the rooms painted white, and badly furnished.

Knowledge and refinement were in an equally low state, and would have long remained so, but for the impulse given to both by Christina.

* Geijer, 'Svenska Folket's Historia Tredje Delen.' P. 82-90.

† Grauert, Vol. I., p. 27. Adlersparre, Vol. I., p. 183.

CHAPTER II.

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calmness and presence of mind. He was so far from being intimidated by these demands, that he threatened to remove the Duke from his command altogether.

Bernhard was awed by his firmness, and gladly accepted the investiture of the fiefs as the subject of Sweden, instead of as an independent ruler.

The officers and troops soon returned to their duty; the Scotch Brigade, as before mentioned, took no part in the mutiny; overtures were made to their leader Ruthven, which he rejected with disdain.

Bernhard of Weimar was the only chief of the Swedish army who was not a Swede, and although his ability was perhaps not inferior to that of his successors, he was wanting in the singleness of purpose so conspicuous in the native commanders, which led them successfully through so many difficulties. During his time the fortune of the war fluctuated as it never did before or afterwards, and there was even a hesitation on the Swedish side about undertaking important operations, which was caused by the fear of treachery. The Duke had the unfortunate distinction of commanding in

the only battle during the Thirty Years' War, in which the Swedes suffered a total defeat.

The battle of Nördlingen was fought in August, 1634. The Swedish Field-Marshal Horn, who was second in command, wished to wait for some reinforcements which were on their way; Bernhard not only refused to do this, but taxed Horn with cowardice. The battle was rashly conducted as well as rashly begun, on the side of the Swedes, and it ended in their complete overthrow. Their infantry was almost destroyed. Six thousand Swedes were left on the field, a great number of prisoners were taken, among whom was Horn, and the whole of the Swedish guns, baggage, and 130 stand of colours, were captured. The expected reinforcements arrived at the close of the battle, too late to change the fortune of the day, but in time to prevent the defeat being converted into a total rout.

The power of Sweden in Germany seemed almost annihilated by this blow, and the news of the calamity caused Oxenstiern his second sleepless night. Nothing but the most indomitable energy could have carried him through the difficulties with which he was now beset.

The Elector of Saxony, at the best a doubtful ally, soon showed signs of not remaining an ally at all, or even a neutral. Uladislaus of Poland renewed his pretensions to the Swedish throne, and his attitude became more threatening from the circumstance that the truce concluded with Gustavus Adolphus, expired just at this time. Negotiations for the renewal of the truce were checked at the very outset, as Uladislaus, in his communications with the Regents, styled himself King of Sweden, and studiously avoided even the mention of Christina.

Other countries prepared to take advantage of the misfortunes of Sweden. The envoys of Brandenburg and England supported the Polish claims, and Charles the First promised to help Uladislaus in an attack on Sweden,* although it is difficult to imagine such a course being actuated by any sound principles of policy.

France pretended a more friendly disposition, but secretly informed the Polish minister that, if better terms could not be obtained, Sweden would at least give up her possessions in Prussia. This faithless conduct had a different effect from what

* Grauert, 'Kristina Königinn und ihr Hof.'

might have been expected. Uladislaus thought the Swedes were discouraged, and accordingly raised his own pretensions. He demanded the cession of Prussia, Liefland, and Estland, and that he should be proclaimed King of Sweden. During his absence, his brother, John Casimir, was to act as Regent, and his other brother and sister to receive the great fiefs of Finland and Ingermanland.* Uladislaus raised some troops to support these extravagant pretensions; but he calculated a good deal on finding a party in Sweden favourable to his claims.

He bribed some students to distribute a letter, in which he spoke of his lawful title to the throne; he said that Sweden was now suffering from God's wrath on account of the usurpation of Duke Charles and of Gustavus Adolphus, and that the early death of the latter was a manifestation of the Divine displeasure. He then adverted to the heavy taxes under which the Swedes laboured, and told them that the only way to lighten these burthens was to call back their lawful King.†

* Fryxell. Chap. 13.

† Riksark. Rådsprot. d. 1 Sept., 1635. Apud Fryxell.

The arrogant demands of Uladislaus caused so much indignation in Sweden, that all negotiations would have been broken off if he had not altered his tone, and offered to renounce his claim to the Swedish throne on condition of receiving Liefland and Prussia. His demands, even thus modified, were rejected by the Council.

Oxenstiern sent some sharp remonstrances to the French minister who had betrayed his counsel; he threatened to leave Germany altogether to Austria, and to direct the whole force of Sweden against Poland, where he said more was to be won or lost.*

To give effect to this threat, an army of twenty thousand men was with some difficulty equipped, and the command given to Jacob de la Gardie, whose name struck terror into an enemy so well acquainted with his prowess.

Additional contributions were necessary to pay this army; many of the nobility began to repent of the precedent they had given in paying taxes, but they were carried away by the enthusiasm of Gabriel Oxenstiern, who said in the Council that

* Ax. Oxenstierna till Gab. Gus. Oxenstierna. Apud Fryxell.

he would sell the plate from his table and the cap from his head to serve his country in this extremity.

An epidemic broke out in De la Gardie's army which induced the Swedish Council to make more concessions than they would otherwise have done, and it was finally agreed to cede Prussia to Poland.

It was stipulated that both Christina and Uladislaus should be called kings of Sweden, but that the latter should never rest any claim to possession on this title. Even when these terms were agreed upon by the two governments, they still could not determine upon a regular treaty of peace, but a truce was concluded for twenty-six years, from the 2nd of September, 1635.

Oxenstiern was as uncompromising as those old Roman Senators who increased their demands after each success of their enemy. He complained bitterly of a truce which he considered disgraceful to his country, and expressed himself so sharply to the Council, that the peaceful Gabriel Gustaf urged him to write them a conciliatory letter. The Chancellor refused to do this. He said, " He should be sorry if his old friend De la Gardie was displeased

with his letter, that he meant nothing offensive to him, and did not even know that he had taken any part in the truce: still," the Chancellor added, "I cannot help it, for I consider the cause, and not persons."

Prussia always remained a sore subject with him. He often complained, both in his letters and speeches, that half the power and revenue of Sweden were lost when Prussia was alienated.* He wrote to his son John, that "he grieved to outlive the day that Sweden forgot her great king's fame, and her own glory."

The truce cannot be considered very unfavourable, and certainly not disgraceful for Sweden. The only sacrifice she made was to give up a country to which she had very little claim. Her energies were taxed to the utmost in the war she had engaged in with Austria. The hostility of another powerful and warlike nation could hardly have failed to entail some disasters. It had required all the skill and ability of Gustavus Adolphus to conduct a war successfully against Poland, even when it stood alone.

* It was said that the revenue from Dantzic alone amounted to 1,400,000 dollars. Riksark. Rådsprot. d. 26 Novr., 1634.

On the other hand Poland was already threatened with the revolt of the Cossacks, which produced a bloody civil war in 1648. The terms were, therefore, such as might be satisfactory to both parties; the only conditions on which a solid peace can be based.

In the meantime, Oxenstiern had made a treaty with France, by which that kingdom was engaged as a principal in the German war. Richelieu had contemplated this for some time, but while the Swedish arms were triumphant, Oxenstiern did not meet his advances with any cordiality.

The battle of Nordlingen made a great difference; even Oxenstiern began to doubt the power of Sweden to contend single-handed with the empire. Richelieu, whose great desire was to check Austria, would have been content to do so by subsidising Sweden. He now saw that it was necessary to throw the sword of France into the scale. The two great statesmen were, therefore, not disposed to lose time in vain endeavours to overreach one another. The illustrious Hugo Grotius had been sent to Paris early in 1635, as the Ambassador of Sweden; but the negotiations flagged in his hands. He was obnoxious to the French Minister because

he had been recently in the service of France, where he had been badly treated. Richelieu at first objected to him on the ground that Oxenstiern had not authority to appoint an ambassador, but the Chancellor reminded him that the authority which could make a treaty with France was sufficient to appoint an ambassador.*

Richelieu made one attempt to deceive Grotius. He spread a report that France was about to make a separate treaty with the Emperor, but Grotius wrote to Oxenstiern, that this was a mere ruse, as in fact it turned out to be. Still, however, the treaty did not progress, either on account of the Cardinal's dislike to Grotius, or because the latter had not sufficiently explicit instructions. Oxenstiern resolved to see Richelieu himself, and arrived at Compiègne in April, 1635. The meeting of these two remarkable men was conducted with a degree of simplicity not very usual at that time. No time was lost in negotiations about precedence. The terms of the treaty were discussed, and the treaty itself signed in the short space of two days, and on the third day Oxenstiern took his leave.†

* De Burigny, 'Vie de Grotius.' Tome I., p. 311. Archenholtz. Tome 1., p. 74.

† De Burigny, 'Vie de Grotius.' Tome I., p. 324.

By this treaty, France and Sweden agreed to carry on the war jointly against Austria: and each power engaged not to make peace without the other's consent. The independence of the German states was guaranteed. France agreed to pay an annual subsidy to Sweden, and to offer her mediation for the continuance of the truce with Poland. In return for this Alsace was ceded to France.

Another stage of the Thirty Years' War was now passed. The ablest of the Imperial generals had been murdered by orders from Vienna, and his death had not the effect of encouraging the others, for there was afterwards a singular dearth of talent among the Austrian leaders. This deficiency became at last so marked, that the only man to be found who was not far below mediocrity was Menander; and to him, though a Protestant and a foreigner, was entrusted the defence of the Catholic cause, and of the Austrian Empire. Wallenstein, however, the greatest of the Imperial generals, well deserved his fate. He raised and commanded an army of mercenaries, who had no interest in the cause they espoused except the pay

they received and the plunder they expected. Wallenstein's own character resembled that of his troops. His conduct was never directed by patriotism or honour, but solely by self-interest; and he seemed at last to have become quite bewildered with his own complicated intrigues. He carried on negotiations with the Swedes, and offered to unite with them to attack his master the Emperor, but Oxenstiern refused to trust a man with whom no engagement was binding. He said: "He who betrays his own country will betray any other."* Even Bernhard of Weimar, not overscrupulous himself, refused to treat with one who had no respect for God or man. Wallenstein invited him to occupy Passau and Eger, and to join him at Pilsen.

It is a matter of conjecture whether Wallenstein was sincere in this offer, and if so whether his intention was to join the Swedes, or whether he wished to unite with the other mercenary leader to form a party of their own; but Bernhard knew that he could not depend on him, and answered,

* 'Dessutom, den, som förråder sitt eget land förråder oc andra.' Fryxell, Chap. vii.

that "no one can put faith in one who does not believe in God."*

By a singular retribution, the traitor fell by treachery. Some Irish and Scotch mercenaries, who owed everything to him, murdered their benefactor, to obtain a larger reward than he could bestow.

The German Protestant princes have been blamed for their want of fidelity towards the Swedes, who came to save them from injury and oppression. At this distance of time we may form a juster opinion. The interests of the Swedes and of the German Protestant Princes agreed temporarily in one respect, in the desire to check the arbitrary power of Austria; but in every other respect their interests were diametrically opposed.

The German princes regarded the authority of a foreign Government with even greater jealousy than that of their own Emperor.

The Swedes soon showed that their chief object was the acquisition of territory in Germany; and, as the hereditary states of Austria were too far off, they sought to indemnify themselves at the ex-

* 'Den som icke tror på Gud, på honom kan ej heller någon menniska tro.' Fryxell, Chap. vii.

pense of their allies. When they began to gain the ascendency, they demanded a substantial reward in the cession of Pomerania, which belonged to Brandenburg. The Elector of Saxony justly feared that continued success might make them aspire to the possession of Dresden.

But if the German princes feared the ambition of Sweden nearly as much as that of Austria, whenever the terms of peace should be finally adjusted, there was absolutely no difference meanwhile in the amount of injury they suffered from the two great belligerents.

The commanders on each side ravaged the territory of friends and foes with perfect impartiality. Both armies were chiefly composed of mercenaries. These often changed sides, and the same towns were plundered by the same men, who alternately represented the lawful authority of Austria, or the religious freedom of Sweden.

Oxenstiern left Germany with the knowledge that the hostility of Saxony was impending; but he left in command of the Swedish army John Banér, a general formed in the school of Gustavus Adolphus, whom he is said to have resembled in person, and to have nearly equalled in military skill.

CHAPTER III.

Return of Oxenstiern to Sweden—His Reception—Character of the Princess Catharine—The Studies of the young Queen—Her Physical Education—Death of her Aunt Catharine—Intellectual Progress of Christina, and her Initiation into Public Affairs—Her Masculine Propensities—Flight of the Queen Dowager from Sweden—Introduction of Improved Manufacturing Processes by Foreign Protestant Refugees—Development of the Internal Resources of the Country—Reform of Abuses—Improvement of Stockholm by the High Admiral, Klas Fleming—Count Brahé—His appointment as Governor-General of Finland, and afterwards Grand Marshal in Sweden—Judicious Conduct of Christina in reference to the Latter Appointment—The Elector of Saxony joins the Imperialists—The Swedes in Germany under Banér—The Battle of Wittstock—Campaign of 1637—Masterly Generalship of Banér—Victory of the Swedes over the Austrians at Chemnitz—Death of Bernard of Weimar—The Banquet of Hildesheim—Banér's Unsuccessful Raid on Ratisbon during he Sitting of the Diet—Plan to entrap the Swedish General in the Upper Palatinate—Patriotic conduct of Slange—Death of Banér—Torstenson takes Command of the Swedish Army—Second Battle of Leipsig—Affairs of Denmark and Sweden—The

Sound Dues—Pretensions of King Christian of Denmark—Naval Battle between him and the Swedish Admiral Fleming—Gallas and the Imperialists in Holstein—Majority of Queen Christina.

OXENSTIERN arrived in Stockholm the 14th of July, 1636, and was received with the honours he had earned so well. He was met at the gates by the Senate and a deputation of the States, and was treated with almost as much respect as if he had been the sovereign. It has been already mentioned that one of his first acts was to remove Christina from her mother. Her tutors and governors were retained, and the love of study which had first been roused by the desire to escape from her mother's gloomy apartments, was now implanted firmly enough to flourish under the more genial care of her aunt.

This exemplary princess was always loved and respected by Christina, and perhaps the eccentricities which afterwards appeared in her character would never have been developed if it had not been for the premature death of her aunt.

Catharine was the only surviving child of Charles IX. by his first wife, and every account represents her as amiable and good. Her house-

hold was a pattern of correctness and good management; she ruled it mildly, yet firmly, and chiefly by her own good example. She comforted and attended the sick, with skill as well as with kindness; she assisted the poor systematically, and if they did not venture to come to the palace she sought them in their cottages, "with gifts in her hands, and comfort on her lips." *

Her piety kept pace with her charity; every day she read to her household, either from the Bible or from some devotional book.

Gustavus Adolphus had loved her tenderly, and she now repaid his affection by her care of his daughter.

The Regents, and the nobles in general, were not well disposed towards her husband's family; but no one had a word to say against Catharine, and it gave general satisfaction that she should have the charge of Christina.

Matthiæ now read with his pupil the works of Livy, Terence, Cicero, and Sallust. She entered into the spirit of these authors, and could write good Latin herself.

* Fryxell, 'Berättelser ur Svenska Historien.' Vol. XI. Chap. iii.

Theology had its full share in her education, and while under Matthiæ's charge she seems to have been sincerely and unaffectedly pious. Many of her letters written at this time display a strong religious feeling, and even at a later period Frenisheimius spoke of her veneration for religious subjects, and of the study she devoted to religion.* Chanut said, in 1648, that "she was faithfully attached to Christianity, although she was not scrupulous, and did not affect a ceremonious devotion.†

Oxenstiern also took his place among the tutors of the young Princess. He spent several hours a day with her, and taught her general politics, and the relations of Sweden to foreign states.

Few princes have had the advantage of such a master. She recorded years afterwards the profit and pleasure she had derived from these studies

* Sie ist sehr religiös, und hegt für das Christenthum die höchste Verehrung, wie ihr ganzes leben, ihre täglichen Gebete, das häufige Anhören, Lesen und Nachdenken über Gottes Wort, und die fortwährenden Gespräche über diese Gegenstände klar beweisen, und jeder von uns weiss.—Grauert, 'Kristina Koniginn und ihr Hof,' p. 258.

† 'Memoires de ce qui s'est passé en Suède. Tirez des depesches de M. Chanut, ambassadeur pour le roy en Suède.' Paris, 1675. Vol. I., p. 224.

with the Chancellor, and said that all her knowledge of politics was derived from him.* These hours appear to have been pleasant to them both, for Oxenstiern was delighted with his pupil's quick comprehension and sound understanding.

Christina is said to have first begun the study of French about this time; but it would seem she had some acquaintance with the language considerably earlier, because several French words are introduced in a short letter she wrote to her aunt in 1634.† The French language was then very little known in Sweden, so that those words could not have been in general use.‡ The way also in which they are employed is just that which might be expected from a child who was learning several languages at the same time.

* 'Vie par elle-mème,' p. 55.

† It is said that a servant of Count Gronsfeld having been taken prisoner by the Swedes with some of the General's papers in his possession, which were written in French, there was no one in the whole Swedish army who could translate them except Gustave Gustavsson.' Geijer, Vol. III., p. 286.

‡ 'Nyköping den, 19 April, 1634.

'Jag lefwer uti then goda forhôpning, E. F. N. skal sin goda wåndskap emot mig "continnera," . . . . . lofwar mig däremot altid wela "temoignera" en saden benågenhet . . . . . Letter to the Princess Catharine.' Arch. enholtz. Vol. I., p. 34.

Christina's physical education was not neglected on account of her studies. She followed the chase with the same energy which she displayed in every pursuit, and the accounts of her adroitness are almost too wonderful to be believed; for it is said that while on horseback, and at a gallop, she could shoot a hare with a single ball. When the rest of her attendants were thrown out, she frequently continued the pursuit, accompanied only by the strongest and most expert huntsmen.* It is a fact little in accordance with the character generally given to Christina, that notwithstanding her love for the excitement of field-sports, she never witnessed the death of an animal without showing strong feelings of pity, sometimes even to the extent of being moved to tears.†

Christina experienced an irreparable loss in the death of her aunt. This amiable Princess expired, after a short illness, in December, 1638, and left her charge not quite thirteen years old, and without any female about her who possessed her confidence.

* Chanut. Vol. I., p. 247. Fryxell. Vol. IX., p. 15. Grauert. Vol. I., p. 52.

† Grauert. Vol. I., p. 52.

Two days before her death she called Christina to her bed-side, made her read the prayers for the day, and exhorted her to devotion towards God, and to obedience towards her tutors and governors. The dying woman next charged her to love Sweden, and to perform her high duties with diligence and zeal. Lastly, and not without tears, she begged the young Queen's favour and protection for the husband and children she was leaving behind.

Never was a dying injunction more faithfully observed than this last. Christina resigned her crown to Catharine's son, and resigned the man she loved to Catharine's daughter.

During this interview the attendants broke into lamentations for their beloved mistress. She endeavoured to console them, and said gently: "I leave here many friends, but many others have gone before me, and are now expecting me in the place to which I am hastening."

John Skytte said of her, "she was universally beloved, as a pattern of religion, patience, and all Christian virtues—yes, she was truly a pearl among Sweden's royal daughters."*

* 'Hon var af otaliga meniskor álskad, såsom ett efterdöme

Christina wrote a letter of condolence to her uncle, and promised to do all the good in her power to him and his children, in return for the truly maternal care she had experienced from the late Princess.* Notwithstanding Christina's brilliant qualities she seldom inspired much affection, nor can it be said that she possessed an affectionate disposition; but she met with sympathy and love from her aunt, and always cherished her memory with peculiar tenderness.

The Regents found considerable difficulty in supplying the place of the Princess Catharine. Anna Banér, the wife of Gabriel Oxenstiern, was invited to take charge of Christina, but she declined to undertake it, on the plea that she did not wish to leave her own children; but in fact, she, as well as Helena Bjelke, the wife of Klas Fleming, to whom it was next offered, did not

af gudsfrukten, tålamod, fromhet, und alla kristeliga dygder ja, hon var i sanning en krona bland Sverges konungadöttrar. 'Palmsköld.' Johan Skytte till Johan Kasimir, den, 19 Dec 1638.

* 'Ich kan Ew. L. nicht genugsam die grosse Treue und Dienste vergelten, so Ew. L. seelige in Gott ruhende hertzliebe Gemahlin mir beweisen hat, als eine rechte Vater-Schwester, nicht dass ich sage allein Vater-Schwester, sondern als eine natürliche Mutter,' &c., &c. Archenholtz, 'Memoires de Christine.' Vol. IV., p. 203.

wish to incur the responsibility. At last the Chancellor's sister, Beata Oxenstiern, was chosen, but her office was hardly more than a nominal one, for Christina neither asked nor took advice from any one except Axel Oxenstiern, Axel Banér, and John Matthiæ.

The Chancellor had taught Christina about a year, when she discovered so much capacity, that although she was only thirteen years old, he recommended she should be gradually initiated in public affairs. She entered into these matters with so much interest and intelligence, that by the time she was fourteen, it was decided she should be present at the deliberations of the Council on the most important occasions, "so that she might learn government was a heavy responsibility, and might not hereafter throw all the cares of it on her ministers, as the German Princes did."

The Council also wished her to take some part, as early as possible, in the conduct of affairs, because they anticipated that at a future time people would not be wanting to accuse their management. During the next few years Christina's course of life was regular, and her efforts were unremitting

in the acquisition of that vast stock of knowledge for which she afterwards became so famous. Her faults also continued to develop themselves. Her line of knowledge made her take a keen delight in the conversation of able men; but, unfortunately, her dislike increased for the habits and society of women. She felt no sympathy for the old Scandinavian doctrine, that there is something divine in the nature of women, independent of, and superior to, acuteness of reason. The philosophers of her court gladly encouraged a frame of mind in their queen which was so favourable to their own influence, a frame of mind which acknowledged only one form of excellence, and ignored the charms of grace and beauty.

The rudeness and coarseness of manner which men acquire when they have been long debarred from female society, has often been noticed, and it is frequently found that refinement of feeling is lost at the same time with elegance of manners.

It is still more injurious to a young woman to be separated from persons of her own sex; she then sees no example and can aim at no standard but a masculine one. She seldom reaches this, even to her own satisfaction, but she loses her own natural

grace and dignity in the effort. She is ignorant of the amiable qualities which she does not see, and she thus acquires a contempt for women which is never felt, and seldom pretended, except by the worst of men. There had not been many queens to serve as a model for Christina, but she had carefully studied the life of Elizabeth, and may have derived from her career the impression that vigour was inseparably connected with a rough and masculine manner. Had she lived to our own time, she might have learned from another English Queen how to combine every womanly virtue with a wise and active administration.

Christina carefully avoided the vices of men, although she acquired much of their hardness and coarseness. She always expressed great abhorrence of drunkenness, which was the besetting sin of the Swedes; in fact, she carried temperance to an extreme, for she drank nothing but water, and was so indifferent to the pleasures of the table, that she was never known to say a word either in praise or in blame of the repast that was set before her; but she indulged in another habit, which is now considered almost as shocking as that of drinking, viz., the habit of profane swearing.

It would not be fair, however, to take this habit as an indication of a depraved or irreligious disposition in the 17th century.

Oaths were commonly used in conversation at this time, not only in Sweden, but in the more civilized England. Our own Queen Elizabeth used to indulge in this sort of language, and more than a hundred years after her time a lady was recognized at once as a woman of quality because she swore so horribly.*

Christina confesses this fault in her Memoirs, and says that as soon as she became aware of it she endeavoured to correct it; but she adds that no one in Sweden of either sex used to speak without an oath.†

Although swearing was not especially a masculine habit, yet in other respects she affected the manners of the male sex to an absurd degree. She wore a black handkerchief like the soldiers, she used to bow and salute as men did,

* 'Campbell's Lives of the Chief Justices. Vol. II. P. 344.

† 'Je suis pourtant en quelque façon excusable, parceque je suis née dans un Pais et dans un siècle, ou ce défant régnoit également parmi l'un et l'autre sexe en Suède, où l'on ne savoit pas parler sans jurer.' 'Vie par elle-même'. Chap. viii.

and it was even said she carried the whim so far as to go through the form of twirling a moustache.*

Christina was never diffident of her own powers, and must have felt that none of her ministers, except Oxenstiern, had abilities equal to her own; yet strangely enough she often dwelt on the unfitness of women for government, and this idea gives the clue to her apparently childish and silly imitation of men. She said in her Memoirs, "It is almost impossible that a woman should perform the duties required on the throne. The ignorance of women, their feebleness of mind, body, and understanding, makes them incapable of reigning."†

Yet Christina must have felt her superiority to the ignorant soldiers about her, in everything but physical strength.

Maria Leonora was greatly exasperated when the Council would not let her resume the charge of her daughter, after the death of the Princess

* 'Elle portoit un collet d'homme, avec un mouchoir noir au col, a la soldat . . . . . Elle salue et fait la reverence en homme, et pour contenance se rèlevé le moustache, quoy qu'elle n'ay point de barbe au menton.' 'Le Pourtrait de la Reine Christine.' Cologne, 1668.

† 'Vie par elle-même.' Chap. ix.

Catharine. She retired to the castle of Gripsholm in Sudermania, from whence she corresponded with the King of Denmark, and planned her escape from Sweden. One summer night, in 1640, a boat took her to the other side of the lake; a carriage was waiting there, which took her to Nyköping, from whence she embarked in a Danish frigate.

This act of the Queen Dowager's, injudicious at any time, was especially so when the Government had just paid off her debts; equally injudicious was the speech she made to the Swedish Consul at Elsinore, "that she would rather live on bread and water elsewhere than be treated royally in Sweden."

Her enemies made the most of this fault. The Senate stopped her pension, the clergy struck her name out of the public prayers, and she was even accused by some, among whom was the French minister, Count d'Avaux, of entertaining a passion for the King of Denmark, although at this time he was sixty-six years of age.

The plague now broke out in Stockholm, and to escape its ravages Christina was removed to a beautiful spot on the banks of Lake Malar, where

she remained a whole year. Here she had more opportunity of indulging her passion for the chase. She was often ten hours at a time in the saddle, and as her frame was never very strong, her health was not improved by this excessive exertion. While at Kungsoer she had frequent opportunities of seeing and conversing with members of those classes which did not frequent the Court, and she did not omit to use opportunities which are not often within the reach of princes, and still less of princesses.

The Regents were not inattentive to the development of Sweden's internal resources. The Catholic Powers, with suicidal policy, had driven away many of their most industrious subjects, and Protestant and rival countries profited by their fault. Many of the persecuted Walloon and French Protestants took refuge in Sweden, and introduced there an improved method of working in copper and iron. Sweden's chief wealth lay in these metals, but the art of preparing them was little understood there. By the assistance of foreign artificers weapons were now made in the country which had long supplied the best metal for their material, and the sturdiest arms to wield

them. Other foreigners introduced manufactures of cotton and wool.

The Government wisely encouraged these refugees, and protected them from the bigotry of the Lutheran clergy, who had as strong an inclination as the Catholics themselves to persecute Calvinists. All their attempts at intolerance were met with a quiet and steady opposition by the nobles.

The Swedish Government at this time was essentially an aristocracy, and was in far less awe of the clergy than the kings had been. The nobles had discovered that it was more difficult for the Church to isolate a number of powerful individuals than to make a victim of one.

Rome herself has generally eschewed such collisions as are likely to unite a people with its rulers against her, and those hierarchies which have aped the authority of the Vatican have imitated its prudence in this respect. The Venetian Senate had lately set the example of despising the fulminations of Rome, and the Swedish Senate, who were equally high-spirited, were not likely to yield to a faint echo of those terrors.*

* In 1606, Paul V. placed the Republic of Venice under an interdict because it had punished some ecclesiastics for

The Regents also endeavoured to establish another Scandinavian colony in North America. A governor was sent out, and a fort was built and named Fort Christina. In Sweden two most useful measures were the improvement of the roads, and the formation of a regular post.

The Chancellor appreciated the importance of trade. He perceived that it languished in the towns on account of the imposts and extortions to which the citizens were subject. He said that the towns would become deserts if these evils were not remedied, and he endeavoured steadily and perseveringly to reform the system. He showed a knowledge of the principles of trade very far in advance of his age, and laid down

capital offences, and because it had forbidden the alienation of estates in favour of the clergy. The Senate forbade the publication of the interdict, and banished the Jesuits and Capuchins from the Venetian States for disregarding their prohibition. The Grand Vicar of Padua was the only Venetian dignitary who hesitated in his allegiance. When he received orders to continue the services of the Church, nowithstanding the interdict, he replied, that he would act as the Holy Spirit inspired him; but his scruples vanished when he received a stern warning that the Holy Spirit had inspired the Council of Ten to hang all refractory priests. Darn, 'Hist. de Venise.' Vol. II., p. 63.

axioms which were inculcated by Adam Smith one hundred and forty years afterwards, but which have only been acted upon in our own days. He wrote that although shopkeepers complain, with some appearance of truth, that the introduction of foreign goods injures the native production, yet that whoever examines the matter with proper understanding and attention, and considers the advantage of the whole community, will find that this foreign trade increases the demand for the inland Swedish goods.*

The country received its share of his attention as well as the towns. The old abuse had crept up again of obliging the peasants to supply horses, and give free entertainment to the nobles on their journeys. It was very difficult to eradicate this custom, but the Chancellor endeavoured to mitigate its evils.

Klas Fleming, the High Admiral, had, with indefatigable zeal, raised the Swedish Navy to a higher condition than it had ever before occupied. He superintended the construction of ships as well as the discipline of their crews. The Council, however, thought that his active mind required still

* Geijer, 'Svenska Folkets Historia.' Vol. III., p. 305.

further employment, and they made him Governor of Stockholm.

This office was more municipal than military, and was now just created for the purpose of improving the construction and internal arrangements of the city. Fleming was to combine in this capacity the duties of Lord Mayor and Inspector of Works. He remonstrated at his new appointment, and said that the fleet gave him occupation enough; but his objections were overruled. The Council had not mistaken his powers. He prepared new municipal laws, and laid the foundation of two faubourgs, which have since become the handsomest parts of the city.

Stockholm in general was badly built, the streets were narrow and hardly passable, the houses were undrained. They were both ugly and unhealthy. Fleming made improvements in all these particulars; many of the worst houses were pulled down to widen and ventilate the streets, much to the annoyance of the Conservative population. The public discontent gave rise to a most singular sanitary theory, for, when the plague broke out, the people declared it to be the judgment of heaven on Fleming's godless proceedings in draining houses and widening streets.

Nothing diverted Fleming from his purpose; the ravages of the plague were diminished by his prudent measures, and the recurrence of that calamity rendered much less probable.

He showed no respect for persons in his measures. One of the houses he condemned to be pulled down belonged to an old lady named Anna Trolle. She wrote him a bitter and scolding letter about it, which the Admiral answered by some half jocular, half sarcastic verses: the last syllable of each line rhymed with the lady's name, and the substance was that if her house were all built of gold it must still come down to make room for his street.*

He endeavoured to curtail the exclusive privileges of guilds, as the Swedes had copied that system from Germany, and erroneously supposed that it conduced to the benefit of trade.

* Ack hjertans syster hull!
Hvi gör i er så dull
För en så ringa skull,
Som är dock rätt et null?
Om ert hus vor af gull,
Så skall det dock omkull
Allt ned till mark och mull
Och det för gatans skull,
Min gamla Anna Trull.

Fryxell, 8 Delen., p. 130.

The method was too firmly rooted in the prejudices of the people to be entirely demolished, and Fleming once said, in despair, that a man might make himself king in Sweden but could not make himself a tanner.*

Another judicious appointment was that of Count Brahe to be Governor General of Finland.

Brahe was both by his rank and his talent the leader of the extreme aristocratic party in Sweden. His pretensions were so high that he once said in the Council, the king ought not to call the nobles his subjects, as that was degrading to them, and made their king like some German prince.†

His own order also were offended at his haughtiness when he demanded precedence over the other members of the Council, and even over the Regents, in virtue of his rank as Count. Brahe, supported by Per Banér, Tott, and Gyllenhielm formed a powerful opposition to the Government. They resisted successfully for some time the attempt of Oxenstiern to abolish the oppressive "fir skjuts," or right of the nobles to use horses in travelling without payment.

* Fryxell, p. 190.

† Riksark, Rådsprot, d. 16 Novr., 1642.

Brahe gave most trouble on the subject of taxes. He said that the freedom of the nobility was at an end if they paid these like plebeians. Oxenstiern answered that he loved freedom much, very much, but that he loved the Fatherland more. Brahe still disputed that the poll tax was degrading to the nobility, and he proposed, instead, a tax on their horses. Then Oxenstiern said: "If you oppose what is necessary for the safety of the country, I will call together the States, and let them choose either another Council, or else a Dictator. If the kingdom is ruined it shall not be through me, nor shall it be so long as I sit in this Council."

Oxenstiern generally carried his point, but still the continual opposition was embarrassing to the Government, and it was wisely determined to find the restless Brahe some employment to keep him quiet.

There was enough to do in Finland. Continual war with Russia, and, still more, civil war, had destroyed all kind of order. "The inhabitants are not men, but beasts," said Oxenstiern.*

The two highest functionaries, Joüs Kurck and

* Riksark, Rådsprot, d. 25 Aug. 1640.

Bror Andersson Kålamb, were personal enemies, and did all they could to oppose each other. The nobles practised an uncontrolled tyranny: the ignorance of the clergy was only equalled by their viciousness; few of them even knew the Lord's Prayer.

Brahe began at once by setting up what was considered an extravagantly high standard of knowledge in the church. He allowed no one to receive priest's orders who could not say his catechism:* and the Finnish divines were obliged to submit.

Such universal disorder prevailed, that there was no register of farms and estates, and many had not even a name.

Brahe began his administration in the winter of 1637-8.

Notwithstanding the severity of the climate, the wildness of the country, and his own infirm health, he travelled all over Finland, both in summer and winter, and saw everything with his own eyes; his talent and activity supplied a remedy for almost every evil. He carefully observed the soil and climate in different parts; he made roads,

* Riksark, d. 18 Sept., och 25 Aug., 1640.

planned canals, and in one of his expeditions he visited the shores of the White Sea, and directed the attention of his Government to the importance of the trade between Archangel and England. "The Count's time" was long remembered in Finland, and was reckoned the beginning of a better state of things. The translation of the Bible into Finnish was begun under his auspices, and was afterwards finished by the directions of Christina.*

Brahe founded schools at Tavastehus, Nyslott, and Kexholm, as well as at Viborg and Abo. Oxenstiern is said to have projected, but not carried out, the plan of a college at the latter place, and to have shown some jealousy at Brahe's success.† Brahe was the first Chancellor of the University of Abo, and held the office until his death. After he had established a system of order in Finland, Brahe wished to return to Sweden, but Oxenstiern, remembering his former factiousness, endeavoured to keep him away. Brahe

* Henderson's 'Biblical Researches and Travels in Russia.' London, 1826. P. 8.

† Riksark, Rådsprot, d. 18 Aug., 1636. Brahe, Fol. 13, M. v. Falkenberg till P. Brahe. Westerås, d. 2. Juli, 1639.

eventually returned without leave, and was not very graciously received by the Chancellor, who did not express the public thanks for the Governor General's services in the usual way. The two rivals were still on bad terms in 1640, when the Grand Marshal, Gabriel Gustaf Oxenstiern, died.

Christina was invited to nominate his successor, and it was hinted to her that if she wished to name her cousin, Charles Gustavus, her choice would meet with the approbation of the Council. She displayed great good sense on this occasion, and declined the responsibility of choosing an officer who was to stand to her in the relation of tutor and governor. She wrote to the Prince Palatine of Deux-Ponts, the father of Charles Gustavus, on the 3rd of April, 1641 :—"The Regents wish to have my opinion, whom I should prefer in the place of G. G. Oxenstiern, and they have deliberated whether they should propose several for me to choose from, or whether I should name one without any restriction. They have also said that they would be satisfied with my nomination of Prince Charles. I answered that I appreciated their affection for me in wishing me to have one of my own near relations, but that I did not wish to

run this risk, knowing well that you would not like it. I told them that it did not become me to name my own tutor, unless several were proposed. I said, also, to please the Chancellor, that he would be the most proper person to decide. I also observed, that if several names were proposed to me, they would certainly all belong to men of merit, and that, therefore, the best plan would be to decide by lot."*

Although the Council had at first no intention of deciding by lot who should have the vacant office, they were obliged, eventually, to adopt this method. The parties of Brahe and of Oxenstiern were so exactly balanced in the Council, that the two principal candidates, Gabriel Bengtsson Oxenstiern, and Brahe himself, had each eight votes. It was then decided that Christina should draw lots to show which of them should be nominated. The two names were written on pieces of paper, which were presented to Christina in Axel Banér's cap. She drew forth Brahe's name, and he was declared duly elected accordingly. The Chancellor came forward handsomely, and congratulated the new Grand Marshal. The jealousy between the

* Archenholtz, Vol. I., p. 36.

two great officers continued for some time, but it gradually subsided. When Oxenstiern became acquainted with the particulars of Brahe's administration in Finland, he no longer withheld his commendation, but said that Brahe loved and served his country well. After the latter became one of the Regents, he began to take wider views of government, than to think it was designed only for the aggrandizement of one order, and ceased to oppose Oxenstiern's patriotic measures. Their mutual antipathy was first changed to mutual respect, and, finally, to regard and esteem. After a time, Brahe used to postpone deciding any important matter, even in his own particular province, until he had first asked the opinion of his great colleague.

Meanwhile important events were taking place in Germany. John Banér, the Commander-in-Chief of the Swedish army, was aware of the Elector of Saxony's unfriendliness, and endeavoured by all means to conciliate him. The Elector, however, made peace with the Emperor in 1635. He had probably already made up his mind that it would be impossible for him to remain neutral, but he acted on this idea in a treacherous and dis-

honourable way. He suddenly attacked the dispersed Swedish detachments without any declaration of war, and published an order to kill every Swede. A little more ability and less cruelty would have rendered him worthy of respect, for Germany groaned under the tyranny of the foreign troops which had originally come there as the champions of freedom.

Banér now lost no time in temporizing, and it soon appeared that the Saxon generals were no match for him. He immediately recalled his detachments under Duval, Slange, and Ruthven, and sent the latter to relieve Dörnitz, which was besieged by Bandis with seven thousand infantry, but without cavalry or artillery. Ruthven fell on the besiegers with a much smaller force of the three arms combined, and almost annihilated their army. Slange met with equal success in another direction, and in a fortnight every Saxon force which ventured to face the Swedes, was totally defeated. Still Banér was in a most critical position. He had been almost overmatched before, but now a new enemy had sprung up, and he was in the heart of that enemy's country. The wisdom of the recent truce with Poland was now expe-

rienced; the Swedish troops, no longer required there, marched with all haste into Germany, under the command of Torstenson, a general destined to surpass even Banér. Torstenson, at the head of four cavalry regiments which formed the advanced guard, met with eight Saxon regiments, which he completely routed, and took the whole of their baggage and standards, with two thousand prisoners. The best troops had everywhere the advantage in this sudden outbreak, but nearly all Germany was hostile to them, and they were surrounded by enemies whose numbers were constantly increasing.

Although the Swedish troops continued to fight well, their dicipline had greatly declined, and they now equalled the Imperialists in licentiousness and cruelty. The city of Naumberg capitulated when summoned by Banér, and paid fifteen thousand rix-dollars to be exempted from plunder. In defiance of this engagement the place was sacked by the Swedish troops, with all the circumstances of atrocity which had made the name of Tilly infamous at Magdeburg. It was only three years since the inhabitants of Naumberg had kissed the clothes of Gustavus Adolphus, and received him as their guardian angel; so rapidly demoralizing is

war. Naumberg was no exception to the general rule; the Swedes treated every place they took in the same way; but such crimes no longer caused any astonishment, and the Protestant writers have naturally dwelt more on the cruelties practised by the Imperialists than on those practised by the Swedes.

The relaxation of discipline soon produced its natural result,—a mutiny in the Swedish army, which extended to the officers as well as the soldiery. At the same time that the men uttered tumultuous and mutinous cries, a deputation of colonels waited on Banér to express their dissatisfaction at the way the French subsidies were employed, and to demand that a certain portion of them should be appropriated to each regiment.

Banér guessed their intention, and, instead of allowing the deputation to state their business, he received them with loud and vehement reproaches for the disorderly state of the troops, and for the outrages which had been perpetrated. But now, he said, "I shall suffer it no longer, but shall punish them, as well as those who ought to keep them in better order." Then, without waiting for any answer, he went into an inner room, and

called on Colonel Krokow, one of the ringleaders, to accompany him. "I consider," said Banér, "that this amounts to a conspiracy; but I am not a fool, to suffer and remain silent; I will have the heads of the ringleaders. Go back to your regiments, and keep your men in order, and you, Colonel Krokow, take with you two hundred cavalry and arrest these plunderers."

Krokow was not inclined to lose his head the first; he therefore obeyed, and soon returned with four soldiers who had been caught in the act of plundering.

These men were immediately put to death, and the mutiny was quelled.

Banér took care that idleness should not be among his soldiers' faults. The Saxons were supported by two Imperial armies under Hatzfield and Marazini, amounting to 30,000 men, and large reinforcements were daily expected under General Götz. Banér determined to fight before these arrived, although his own army was still greatly outnumbered, as he had only 16,000 men. The Imperial Generals knew that their force would soon be overwhelming, and they declined meanwhile to give battle. They took up a strongly

entrenched position at Wittstock, with the intention of resuming the offensive when they were in such force as to crush their enemy with ease.

Banér, with a prudent audacity, determined to attack an army which was double his own strength, and which was strongly entrenched; but he did so that he might not presently be obliged to fight under still greater disadvantages. He knew that nothing could save his army from destruction, but a complete victory. After his arrangements had been made with the utmost care and deliberation, he fought like a common trooper, because he knew that, without any exaggeration, he must conquer or die.

Banér and Torstenson began the attack by leading a furious charge with the cavalry of the right wing. The Fins fought desperately, and the two chiefs vied with their men in personal prowess; they fought hand to hand in the deadly struggle both on horseback and on foot. It was in vain; their efforts became fainter and fainter, and they were obliged to give ground before the overpowering numbers of the enemy. Leslie, with five regiments of infantry, advanced in support. The Scots fought gallantly as usual, but they also were

repulsed. The tide of battle had set against the Swedes, and from the assailers they became the assailed. The enemy's cavalry and infantry surrounded them on all sides; two of Leslie's regiments lost their colours, and were totally destroyed. Banér himself thought the battle was lost. He sent repeated messages to Witzthum, to advance with the reserve; Witzthum coolly observed that this was a repetition of the battle of Nordlingen, that he knew how it would be, and that he would not lead his division to share in the general destruction. It does not appear whether his conduct was actuated by cowardice or by treachery. Perhaps he thought the opportunity of promotion too good to be lost, when he saw his two senior officers in such a predicament.

The battle seemed lost, when a sudden change took place. King and Stållhandske had been sent a long detour with the cavalry of the left wing, to take the enemy in the rear. The impediments they had met with were greater than had been foreseen, and their arrival was now despaired of. The obstacles were, however, at last surmounted, and they came up at the critical moment. The effect produced by a fresh body of troops in a well-contested battle is easily imagined.

Although the Swedes had been repulsed, yet the Imperialists were obliged to strain every nerve to keep the advantage; their whole army was already engaged, and was doing its utmost. The Swedish cavalry fell like a thunderbolt upon the wearied and disordered combatants, for King and Stållhandske were burning to retrieve the disasters caused by their involuntary delay. At the same time, a gallant officer in the reserve, named Berghoff, indignant at his commander's conduct, resolved to share the fate of his brave companions. He advanced without orders, and Witzthum then thought it advisable to do the same.

The event was not long doubtful. The Imperialists fled in all directions. They left five thousand men on the field, and lost one hundred and fifty stands of colours. The Swedes lost eleven hundred killed, among whom was the brave Berghoff; but the chasms in their ranks were not perceived, for whole regiments of the prisoners went over to the winning side.

The battle of Wittstock made a great sensation in Germany. The Protestant princes who had signed the peace of Prague, reproached the Elector of Saxony for enticing them to desert the common

cause, and began to negotiate separately with the Swedes, whose prowess they now thought invincible.

Banér was, however, outnumbered more than ever in the campaign of 1637. He invested Leipsic, but was obliged to raise the siege and to retire before an army of thirty thousand Imperialists.

His intention was to cross the river Warta, at Landsberg; but when he arrived there he found Marazini before him, with an army double the strength of his own. Although nearly surrounded, Banér managed to deceive the enemy, and to make a most masterly retreat.

The Imperial generals wrote to Vienna, "Now we have caught Banér in a sack." The Swedish general spread the report that he was going to Poland, and his enemies made their dispositions to intercept him; but Banér turned suddenly back, passed the Oder, and entered Stettin. He had fairly doubled on the pursuers, and it was now too late to stop him. When afterwards informed of his adversaries' boast, he said, "Yes, they caught me in a sack, but they forgot to close up its mouth." This retreat from Torgau established Banér's claim to be ranked among generals of the first order.

Banér was driven, by the want of supplies, to the desperate measure of again falling upon his enemies; but his force was too small, and he was obliged to continue his retreat. The pursuing army, however, suffered the most from hunger, not only because it was the largest, but also because it had to pass over a country already drained to the utmost by Banér. Great part of Brandenburg, Pomerania, and Mecklenburg was now desert; the fields were covered with the bodies of the slaughtered peasants, the houses were in ashes, and, as winter approached, the soldiers suffered greatly from passing the cold nights in the open air.

Brandenburg was such a complete waste that Banér was obliged to relinquish the idea of crossing it, to fall upon Gallas. He was obliged to remain in Mecklenburg, while the north of Germany, devastated and ruined, remained as a barrier between the hostile commanders.

1639.—In the next campaign the rival armies had been reduced more nearly to an equality, by the ravages of disease and famine. Banér attacked the Austrian general Gallas, and pursued him through Saxony to the borders of Bohemia. Here

Gallas was joined by Marazini, and took up a strong position at Chemnitz.

A battle was fought on the 4th of April, when the Swedes gained a complete victory. The Imperialists left eight thousand men on the field, and a great many more were taken prisoners. The Swedes only lost three hundred men.

Banér then ranged through Bohemia, committing his usual excesses. One of his officers, named Adam Pfuel, boasted that he had himself burned eight hundred villages and small towns, and other lieutenants imitated his atrocious proceedings. Some one ventured to ask Banér how he would answer for all his cruelties, when he replied, "Those must answer for them who gave me my orders."

Bernhard of Weimar had been for some time in the service of France, and although he performed no great exploits, yet he made a diversion towards the west in favour of Sweden. He died suddenly, in July, 1639, at the early age of thirty-five. By this event Piccolomini, the ablest of the Imperial Generals, was enabled to join the rest in attacking Banér, and he brought with him from the Netherlands some of the famous Spanish in-

fantry, which had not yet lost at Rocroi its claim to be considered the finest in Europe.

The remains of Bernhard's army, under the French Commanders Longueville and Guébriant, now joined the Swedes. The Landgrave of Hesse also sent a contingent under Menander, which, however, effected very little, owing to the treachery of its commander, who shortly after went over to the Imperialists.

The hostile armies were more nearly equal than before, but neither of the commanders cared to stake the fate of the campaign on a single battle; they endeavoured, therefore, to starve one another out.

This strange contest is said to have cost as many lives as two ordinary battles. Either the famine was more severe, or the endurance was less, on the side of the Imperialists, for at the end of a month Piccolomini broke up his camp and passed into Hesse.

As the Swedish army no longer required to be concentrated, Banér parted from his French and German allies. The leaders had a grand farewell banquet at Hildesheim, where they drowned the recollection of their late privations in excessive

drinking. Two of the guests sickened and died immediately after the debauch; six months later they were followed by Prince George of Lüneburg and Banér. The popular belief attributed these deaths to poison, and the banquet of Hildesheim acquired an infamous celebrity.

Banér's health, however, had been failing for some time; fatigue, debauchery, and anxiety, had combined to destroy his constitution.

His state had been represented in Sweden, and he earnestly solicited leave to retire after the death of his second wife, to whom he was much attached. His brother, Axel Banér, supported his request in the Council, but it was opposed by Oxenstiern, who said that Banér could manage the soldiers better from his bed than anyone else could do from the saddle. The matter was warmly discussed, but the Chancellor had the last word; he said that Sweden required John Banér's services, and that John Banér must serve.

Want of patriotism was not one of Banér's faults. His zeal and energy seemed almost to increase as his bodily strength decayed. A young officer full of vigour, and burning with ambition, could

not have exerted himself more than the sick general did in his last campaign.

The year 1641 began with unusual and excessive cold. Banér determined to take advantage of the frozen rivers, to make a sudden incursion into Bavaria, with the intention of surprising the Emperor and the chief notables of the Empire, who were assembled at the Diet of Ratisbon. The rivers, indeed, might thaw and leave him among his enemies, but the prize was great, and Banér had a right to trust to his genius for making a retreat.

On the 17th of January the army reached Regenstauf. Banér pushed on from here with the cavalry, one thousand infantry, and a few pieces of cannon, until he reached the banks of the Danube, opposite to Ratisbon, and so near, that voices could be heard across the stream. The assembled dignitaries were in the greatest alarm; the Emperor alone was firm. With a seasonable and proper pride he determined rather to perish than to abandon the city, and he made arrangements for its defence with coolness and judgment.

His courage was not put to any further proof. The south wind, mightier than general or Em-

peror, frustrated Banér's scheme. The very day of his arrival a sudden thaw took place. The ice of the Danube broke up, and Ratisbon was saved. The situations of the enemies were reversed by those few hours' south wind, and Banér's position was almost one for despair. The mercenaries paid by France, and commanded by Guébriant, had re-united with the Swedes to make this inroad. Its bad success produced the usual consequences; the allied commanders were dissatisfied with each other. It was said that Guébriant feared Banér might entice his army to resume their old service under Sweden. Whatever was the cause, he determined, in spite of all remonstrances, to separate from the Swedes.*

Banér remained in the Upper Palatinate to refresh his soldiers, and he narrowly escaped destruction from a well-formed combination of the Emperor's.

Troops were concentrated with the greatest

* This desertion, on the part of the French, left a very sore impression at Stockholm. A medal was struck by Christina's orders, which represented Sweden standing alone, and the Gallic cock flying away in the distance. It bore the inscription, "A socio derelicta, a Deo restituta Suecia." Archenholtz, Vol., I., p. 54.

secrecy under Gleen and Mercy, the Archduke Leopold, and Piccolomini.

They were all to converge upon Chamb in the Upper Palatinate on the same day, the 9th of March. The bridges which Piccolomini threw over the Danube were reported to be for the Emperor's journey to Vienna.

The gates of Ratisbon were closed for several days, that no friend of the Swedes might escape and give them notice.

Everything was well planned, but it was not easy to catch Banér off his guard.

The division of the Imperial army under Gleen came from Bohemia, and was obliged to pass near the country occupied by the Swedes: the movement was seen and reported to Banér. The keen-witted general knew very well that a single division would not venture to come into his neighbourhood. He required no further hint to make the whole scheme flash upon his mind. He broke up his camp that very day and marched towards Bohemia.

He was only just in time. Slange, who commanded a brigade nearest to the enemy, was surrounded at Neuburg. This gallant officer knew

the importance of gaining time for his Chief, and resolved to earn the title of the Swedish Leonidas. The Archduke summoned him to surrender, and pointed out the hopelessness of resistance. Slange answered that he would defend himself so long as he had his right arm remaining, the pith of the declaration consisting in the circumstance that he had lately lost his left arm. He had no artillery, very few infantry, and about 2,000 cavalry. The walls were breached, his ammunition was soon exhausted, and his only projectiles were stones. Under all these disadvantages he supported the attacks of the enemy four days. He had the proud satisfaction of knowing that the main army was saved by his courage and devotion.

Even as it was, Banér escaped most narrowly—Gleen pressed closely on his rear, Piccolomini made a forced march to seize a pass that would have completely cut him off, and only arrived one hour too late. Banér had been first in the advance, and was last in the retreat: he defended a post from mid-day until night with some light troops and a few pieces of cannon, and so brought off his army with little loss. The Elector of

Saxony considered the destruction of the Swedish army so certain, that he ordered public thanksgivings to be returned for it. The experience he had already had of Banér might have made him more careful in hazarding an opinion. The Swedish light cavalry were plundering the country round Dresden just three hours after Hohenegg, his Court Chaplain, quitted the pulpit.

The defence of the pass of Prosnitz was Banér's last exploit. The fatigues and privations of this retreat completed the ruin of his constitution. He was carried in a litter when too ill to sit on horseback, but soon became unable even to bear this. A few days' rest revived him a little, but Piccolomini was approaching with a greatly superior army, and the Swedes were obliged to continue their retreat. The motion and fatigue made Banér worse again.

He reached Merseburg on the 8th of April, so altered by sickness as hardly to be recognised, and the doctors said he could not survive another day's journey.

It was then determined to make a stand to prevent Piccolomini from crossing the Saal. After a sharp action, however, the passage was

forced and some of the enemy's troops nearly took Banér prisoner in Merseburg. They were driven out for the moment, but it was necessary to evacuate the place, for the defences were slight. The conqueror of so many battles had only the choice to remain behind and pass his few remaining days in captivity, or to die among his own troops. Like a gallant soldier as he was, he chose the latter alternative.

On the 8th of May he reached Halberstadt with the enemy still in pursuit. He was now delirious, but in a lucid interval he called his generals round his death-bed, exhorted them to unity, and recommended Torstenson as his successor. Then came a few more pangs and the great soldier was gone; but, whatever rest his spirit might find, it was long before his body was left in peace. The corpse of their general was carried off by the retreating Swedes before it was cold. His genius had carried them safely through two famous retreats, and they felt his devotion in remaining with them to the last. His remains were defended more jealously than either cannon or colours. Day after day the foe thundered in pursuit, and it was a month before the Swedes had sufficient respite to send the

body of the warrior to the country he had served so faithfully.

Banér was certainly one of the greatest generals in the Thirty Years' War. He showed his ability in his brilliant victories, in his extraordinary retreats, and in maintaining the fidelity of his soldiers. His own fidelity was incorruptible at a period when this virtue was not a common one. The Emperor tried several times to win him. In 1639, as he was entering the hereditary states of Austria, Count Schlitt, the Governor of Prague, and a relation of Banér's, was directed to make proposals to him for a separate peace between Sweden and Austria, and to offer as his reward Glogan and Sagan, which had belonged to Wallenstien, as well as the rank of Prince of the Empire. Although these proposals were not entertained for a moment, they were renewed in the last year of Banér's life, and he was promised in addition the command of the Emperor's army against the Turks. The Austrian minister could not believe such magnificent bribes would be rejected.

"Banér's talking is all nonsense," he said, "a revenue of forty thousand ducats may surely dazzle any one." The Austrian knew very little of Banér

to suppose that, when wearied and broken with service, he would stain his hitherto unspotted integrity, and spend his few remaining days an outcast from his country.

The popular belief was that if he had accepted these proposals, his career would not have been cut short so soon, and that the Court which employed the swords of assassins against Wallenstein, did not scruple to use poison at the banquet of Hildesheim. It would be difficult to set any limits to the crimes of this period, but actions of this nature are so abhorrent, even to the loosest code of honour, that, in default of positive evidence, we must incline to the belief that Banér's death may be accounted for by fatigues, anxieties, privations, and excesses.

He was married three times, and was certainly strongly attached to his two first wives, as each time that he became a widower his sorrow was so great that he wished to retire from the service.

His first wife was a lady who came from Brandenburg with Maria Leonora. She died in Germany in 1636, and Banér then wished to give up his command, that he might carry her over to Sweden and bury her there; but his desire was

overruled by Oxenstiern. His second wife was the Countess Löwenstein. She had been the most intimate friend of his late wife, who had with her dying breath expressed the wish that she should marry Banér. This arrangement seems to have suited all parties, for the marriage took place the same year. The Countess Löwenstein was remarkable for understanding, amiability, and virtue; she was Banér's good angel, and inspired all his best actions; but she died three years after their marriage. Banér was inconsolable, and vehemently urged his application for leave to return to Sweden, both on account of his affliction and his own failing health. He lamented her loss sincerely, although during her life, as well as that of her predecessor, he had continually carried on intrigues with other ladies.

Very shortly after her death he fell in love with the Margravine of Baden-Durlach, a beautiful girl of sixteen. The preliminaries were soon arranged, and the marriage took place. The priest had just pronounced his blessing on this new alliance, when a messenger rushed in to announce the advance of Piccolomini. Banér did not even stop to take leave of his bride, but rode off at full speed to his camp.

Banér's character was arbitrary, and, though beloved by his army, he was never liked by his colleagues. He was on bad terms with Oxenstiern, Salvius, and Wrangel, and it has already been related how Guébriant refused to act with him, to the great detriment of the service.

His maxim was to have no princes, and as few as possible of the high nobility in his army, because he found by experience that they were unwilling to render the implicit obedience which he required. "What is the reason," said he, "that Gallas and Piccolomini get on so badly? Because they are obliged to obey a council at Vienna which does not understand war, while I on the contrary am absolute commander of my army."

Another of his maxims was to employ old officers in fortresses, and young ones in the field. The soundness of his opinions was proved by his success. Thirty thousand Saxons and sixty thousand Imperialists fell before his sword, and he sent home to Sweden six hundred stand of colours which he had taken from the enemy.

Although Christina was only fifteen years old, she fully appreciated the grave consequences that might ensue from the death of Banér at so critical

a time. She wrote a letter to her uncle, the Prince Palatine, expressing her anxiety. She says, "I cannot conceal the bad news which has just arrived. Banér is dangerously ill, and not likely to recover. They do not think much about it here, and suppose that it will be easy to find one to take his place; but such men are not met with every day, and if he dies, our affairs will not go on well."*

It was hardly to be expected that a successor should immediately be found who could take Banér's place. It was the fortune of Sweden to possess a man who even surpassed him in military ability—Leonard Torstenson.

Christina was, however, right in predicting the troubles which would follow the death of Banér. He had commanded an army composed of several different nations, which was, moreover, irregularly paid; but he had acquired such ascendency over the soldiers as to be able always to keep them to their standards.

Immediately after his death, insurrections were threatened from all quarters. The different generals endeavoured to seize the command. The

* Archenholtz, Vol. I., p. 56.

colonels formed a conspiracy to get more pay and more privileges. The men were mutinous and demanded their arrears. Torstenson had returned to Sweden on account of his health, and it was with reluctance that he again entered on active service, for which he believed himself unfit. Immediately on his arrival, he had an attack of gout, both in his hands and his feet, and the discontent of the soldiers increased at his consequent inaction. Secret negotiations were carried on with Austria by some officers of rank, and the whole army threatened to become disorganized.

The treason was discovered in a singular manner. Some papers relating to it were concealed in a stable. A kitten in search of playthings routed them out, when they were examined and taken to Torstenson.

A Swedish colonel named Seckendorf was arrested and condemned to death, but Torstenson, with a prudent generosity, declined to carry his investigations any further. He then began a series of movements which gave his troops no leisure for any more conspiracies.

He broke up his camp, and pretended to direct his march towards Westphalia, then turned sud-

denly about, and penetrated into Silesia, while the Imperial army was vainly seeking him in another direction.

Torstenson took Glogau, and was besieging Schweidnitz, when the Duke Francis Albert of Saxe-Lauenbourg attempted to relieve it. The Duke's force was completely routed, and he himself taken prisoner, mortally wounded.

Francis Albert was viewed with especial abhorrence by the Swedes, for in the earlier period of the war he had fought on their side, and it was believed that he had treacherously murdered Gustavus Adolphus at the battle of Lützen. It is at least certain that he was riding by the King's side at the time he received his death wound, and that he immediately afterwards deserted the Swedish service.

It cannot fail to be observed, as a curious coincidence, that the two warrior kings of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus and Charles XII., each fell in face of the enemy, but that in each case the fatal shot was supposed to have been fired by a traitor.

It was generally the policy of the Imperial commanders to avoid a battle when the forces were nearly equal, and it was almost always the policy

of the Swedes to seek a battle under the same circumstances. For two months Torstenson constantly endeavoured to make Piccolomini fight; the latter, however, not only avoided a battle, but with great skill he took up a series of positions on the Riesengebirge, which could only be attacked at a great disadvantage, although his antagonist was thus prevented from penetrating into Bohemia. At last Torstenson was wearied with his obstinacy, and moved off to besiege Leipsic. . This place was so important, that Piccolomini left his vantage ground to follow the Swedes. It was now Torstenson's turn to practise caution, for he did not wish to be shut in between the hostile fortress and so able a general: he therefore took up a position a short distance from Leipsic, at Breitenfeld.

The second battle of Leipsic took place on the same ground that the first battle had been fought, eleven years before, by Gustavus Adolphus, but the situation of the two armies was reversed, and the Swedes now held the ground which had been occupied by Tilly.

One of the first shots fired committed great havoc; it killed Torstenson's horse, knocked down

that of Christina's cousin, Prince Charles Gustavus, and killed three officers of rank; but neither the General nor the Prince was injured by the fall he received. Slange, the Swedish Leonidas, was killed at the commencement of the battle, and his regiment fell into disorder, but was rallied by Charles Gustavus.

Wittenburg commanded the Swedish right wing, and was chiefly opposed to the Croats, who were more celebrated for their skill in marauding, than for their firmness in the day of battle. They fled at the first onset, although the Austrian regiments made a gallant and determined resistance.

The left flank of the Imperialists being thus disordered, Douglas was sent with four Scotch regiments to follow up the advantage. A fierce combat ensued. Liljehök endeavoured to cut off the Austrian regiments who were retreating to an entrenchment, but in his turn he was charged by a reserve of the Austrian Life Guards. The combat was once more doubtful, and Liljehök was left on the field mortally wounded. "Children," he said to his men, "I die content now that I have shown you the road; lay me down in the bushes." Charles Gustavus complied with his request, and

then led a fresh charge, by which the formidable Life Guards were routed.

The battle raged with equal fury in the centre. One army burned to wipe off the defeat it had sustained on the same spot, the other army was equally eager to preserve its laurels. The Archduke fought like a common soldier, and Piccolomini led his regiment six times to the charge.

Their courage was in vain; the Imperialists were defeated along the whole line. Their cavalry fled. Their infantry took refuge in a wood, but it was so warmly cannonaded by the Swedes, that it was forced to take to the open again, where it was either captured or destroyed by the victorious cavalry. As soon as the battle was won, Charles Gustavus returned to the spot where he had left Liljehök. He was still alive, and inquired about the fortune of the day; he rejoiced at the victory of his countrymen, commended his wife and children to the care of the Prince, and prayed God to bless him, and his country through him. With these words on his lips the brave soldier died.

The Saxons had acquired the habit of thanking Heaven for successes by anticipation. During

the battle they offered up their thanksgivings for the deliverance of Leipsic, but as the people came out of church they met crowds of the wounded, from whose accounts they found that their piety had again taken a wrong direction. All doubts were dispelled by the arrival of a Swedish trumpeter who came to summon the town, and Leipsic was glad to purchase immunity from plunder by a contribution of 150,000 rix-dollars.

It has already been mentioned that Christian of Denmark endeavoured to raise a coalition against Sweden. The old animosity between the two nations was increased by personal as well as political considerations. The King of Denmark had tried to take the place of head of the Protestants in Germany, and his own failure was embittered by the brilliant achievements of Gustavus Adolphus and his Generals. On the other hand, Christian's reception of Maria Leonora had given so much offence in Sweden, that it had even been proposed to make war on that account.

Mutual ill offices kept these feelings rankling on each side. Denmark viewed her neighbour's progress on the Continent with alarm as well as with jealousy, and she feared to be surrounded by

a powerful and unfriendly State. Still Denmark delayed to take such measures of precaution as might perhaps have averted a war.

The Danish nobles were as jealous as the Swedish of the sovereign authority; but they pursued an opposite policy, because the administration, which in Sweden was in the hands of the nobles, was managed in Denmark by an able and energetic monarch.

The Swedish nobles wished for war, because they had the direction of affairs, and took care to keep the prizes among themselves. The Danish nobles thought that a war would increase the power of their King, and would give him an opportunity to ally himself with the people against their order. They therefore obstinately refused to allow their country to be put in such a state of defence as could alone ensure its safety. The King was alarmed at Torstenson's successes in 1642, and renewed his efforts to rouse his people. Still thwarted by the Council, he declared himself not responsible for the evils which he foresaw would presently afflict Denmark.

His warnings were disregarded; but even now it would have been too late, for the Swedish Coun-

cil had determined on war, and although Christian was not in a condition to resist, he very injudiciously continued to provoke his rivals.

The Sound dues were a fruitful source of quarrel between Denmark and her neighbours. Viewed by her statesmen as a natural and legitimate kind of revenue, these dues were considered by other maritime nations much as travellers consider the ransom exacted by a robber chief who pounces on them from some fastness which they are obliged to pass. The Sound dues had long rested on custom, rather than on law, and were tolerated chiefly because few vessels went that way.

Dantzic, Stralsund, and Lübeck traded with Hamburg by land.

The Dutch were the greatest traders in that part, and they suffered the most, but Sweden also suffered indirectly.

Christian the Second made a treaty with Charles the Fifth in 1544, by which it was provided that vessels passing that way should pay the customary dues. This was the first time the Sound dues were formally recognized; but Charles was willing to oblige a relative at the expense of the industrious Netherlanders.

The Dutch affirmed that the customary dues only amounted to one rose noble for each vessel; but Christian the Fourth now found his other sources of revenue so scanty that he was induced to assert the extravagant principle that the King of Denmark's will was the only rule as to the amount of the Sound dues.

Charles the First, always ready to oppress freedom, joined in a treaty with Spain and Denmark in 1638, the object of which was the ruin of the Dutch trade. Happily, the malice of the high contracting parties was neutralized by their ignorance, for they imagined that their decrees would suffice to transfer the whole Baltic trade from Holland to Denmark.

To their great surprise the Dutch trade went on much the same as if the treaty had never been made, and Christian endeavoured to compensate himself by claiming a toll from the Dutch vessels which sailed round the North Cape to trade with Russia.

Not content with this, he prohibited Dutch vessels from fishing at Spitzbergen, which he asserted belonged to Greenland, and consequently to him. Seldom have so great pretensions been

joined to so little power of enforcing them. The only profitable toll was that of the Sound, and Christian determined to make the most of the only tax which it was in his power to collect. In 1639 he raised his toll to 30 per cent. on the value of the commodities, and the Dutch stated that they paid him six millions of rix-dollars in that year.

Even this did not satisfy Christian, for in 1640 he raised his tolls still higher, and the Dutch felt that even their great profits could not support a tax which, in fact, amounted to confiscation.

They sent an embassy to Stockholm, and urged the Swedes to interfere. The embassy was well received, for the old hostility to Denmark had just been stimulated by the flight of the Queen Dowager, besides which the Swedes began to discover that they were indirectly injured by these enormous dues.

Sweden had long enjoyed exemption from toll in the Sound; but her trade had been so inconsiderable that the privilege had been little valued. A free passage was guaranteed to Swedish vessels in 1570, and was confirmed at the conference of Flacksjöbäch in 1580.

At the peace of Knäröd, in 1613, this agreement

was recognized for all articles of merchandise except drinkables, on which the Swedes were to pay the same duty as was paid by the Danes themselves.

In 1622 Christian, moved by jealousy at the successes of Gustavus Adolphus in Liefland, prohibited troops and military stores from passing the Sound, and though the order professed to be general, it was, in reality, directed against Sweden.

Gustavus showed his appreciation of this proceeding by marching his army to the frontier of Denmark, and Christian, who was not supported by his Council, hastened to withdraw the obnoxious regulation. He was, however, always on the watch to revive his favourite measure, and in 1637, when the power of Sweden appeared to be waning, he renewed the toll. Gunpowder and saltpetre were especially taxed. These articles had hitherto been shipped at Gothenburg. In consequence of Christian's exactions, they were carried overland to the east coast, and the difficulties which attended this mode of transit contributed to bring about the grand project of the Trolhätta canal, to unite the North Sea with the Baltic.

The disputes about the Sound dues increased, and as the Swedish Government reckoned on naval assistance from the Dutch, they determined in 1643 to strike a sudden blow at Denmark.

The question of peace or war was debated in the Council on the 12th of May, and Christina attended the sitting for the first time on this important occasion.*

Oxenstiern and Banér were the only two members who spoke in favour of peace, and their only reason was that they thought Sweden had enough to do in Germany. The rest of the Council declared for war. The Chancellor withdrew his opposition, for the excessive tolls, he said, were really equivalent to a war in which Sweden alone suffered, while Denmark reaped the benefit without the danger or expense.

Although Sweden had fair cause for complaint, the way in which she began the war was anything but honourable.

Troops were collected in Sweden with the greatest secrecy, and orders were dispatched to Torstenson to move his army northwards under other pretences, and then suddenly to attack Denmark.

* Riksark. Rådsprot, 12, 19, 26 May, 1643.

The Council also determined that if Torstenson's invasion failed, he was to be disowned, but if it succeeded, Denmark was to be attacked on the other side by the army collected in Sweden.

It was then debated whether any further remonstrance should be addressed to Christian. Many of the Council objected to such a course, for fear he should take the alarm, but Oxenstiern appears to have persuaded his own conscience, and the consciences of his colleagues, that a demand for redress might supply the place of a declaration of war.*

Complaints were accordingly addresssed to Denmark, but they were so carefully worded that no suspicion was entertained of the impending attack.

Torstenson performed his part with so much address that no mistrust was roused until he suddenly broke into Jutland.

Even Grotius, who condemned the manner in which the war was begun, admired the ability with which it was conducted.

The manifesto containing the causes of the war,

* Grotius says: "So Cicero, in his offices, says that, by the Fecial law, no war was just except one preceded by a demand for redress, or by a Declaration of War." Grotius, 'De Jure Belli et Pacis.' Lib. iii., Chap. iii., Art. 5.

was sent to Denmark in January 1644, some time after Torstenson's invasion. The herald was contemptuously dismissed, because the war had been commenced without a proper declaration; and Christian, as a public assertion of the justice of his cause, had a medal struck with the inscription "Justus Jehovah Judex."

All the allies of Denmark failed her in the time of need. Charles I. might justly have given his relative some aid, because the Swedes were busy at this time in stirring up the Scotch, but his own affairs were far too unsettled to let him take an active part in foreign politics.

Uladislaus of Poland was much inclined to assist the King of Denmark, but on this occasion France did good service to Sweden by her negotiations.

Torstenson himself expressed some apprehensions of a diversion on the side of Poland, but the Council wrote to him, "We will take care that the Russians and Poles keep quiet, while you pluck the feathers from the Danes."*

Frederick William of Brandenburg pursued a

* Köpenhamn, 'Geheim. Archivet,' Fol. 123, p. 180. Svenska regeringens Bref till Leonhard Torstenson, den 27 Maj, 1644. Apud Fryxell.

more friendly policy towards the Swedes than his father had done, because he still hoped to be the accepted suitor of Christina: he therefore remained deaf to Christian's appeals.

Sweden made unusual efforts by sea during this war. A strong fleet was equipped under Fleming, and another squadron was hired from the Dutch. The old antipathy to Denmark had not abated, the old wrongs were not forgotten, and the war was popular with all classes.

The animosity was at least equal on the other side, and it was manifested in a way which showed that public opinion had some weight. Political pamphlets were widely circulated in Denmark, in which Oxenstiern was compared to Pilate, Fleming to Herod, and Torstenson to Judas Iscariot.

Christian, although deserted by his allies, and ill supported by the Danish aristocracy, showed a degree of fortitude sufficient to atone for many errors. Although in his sixty-eighth year, he worked incessantly in the preparation of his ships. When urged to spare himself a little, he answered that he was indeed too old and infirm for land service, but that he would fight his ships in such a way that all the world should know he was true to

his country. By great exertions forty ships were got ready for sea in a very short time, and the old King led them against the Swedes.

He fell in with the fleet commanded by Fleming on the 1st of July, and a furious battle ensued. Christian received no less than twenty-three wounds. One ball lodged in his head, another knocked out his right eye; a cannon shot struck a gun carriage near which he was standing, the splinters from which killed and wounded a number of men. It was at first thought that the gallant old King was among the former, as he fell on the deck covered with blood. The Danes were discouraged by the cry, "The King is dead;" but in a short time he was on his legs again, with his bleeding face tied up, and animating his men with his sword in his hand.

In reply to the exhortations of his officers to go below, he expressed his determination to conquer or die.

Fleming fought with equal obstinacy. The battle had lasted all day, and the Danes were somewhat troubled at the condition of their King. Then Fleming collected those ships which were least damaged for a final attack. He bore down

on the enemy, but was so hotly received that he was with difficulty able to retire again among his own ships, and night put an end to a combat which had lasted ten hours. The victory was claimed by each side. The Danes captured two ships and lost none of their own, but the Swedes remained the longest on the scene of the battle.

The animosity of the rival commanders was excessive. Christian was urged to return to Copenhagen after the battle, in order that his wounds might receive more skilful treatment. "I do not wish to live," said the old monarch, "unless I can be revenged on the Swedes."

Fleming took his shattered fleet to a sheltered place on the coast of Jutland, and although Torstenson was near at hand, the Danes sent over 1200 men, with some cannon from Fyen, to annoy the Swedish vessels. They erected a battery on some high ground overlooking the sea, but the distance was too great, and one shot only took effect. It struck the water first, and then entered the window of the Admiral's cabin. Fleming was just washing his hands when he was mortally wounded, and a servant who was holding a towel was killed on the spot. Fleming gave some directions regarding his

successor, then turning to his son with a ferocity quite unlike his usual character, he said, "Do not grieve, my son! I die the enemy of Denmark; see that you do the same!"

Although the late sea fight had not been very decisive, Sweden's navy was so crippled by it as to make her ultimate success doubtful. The Dutch sailors also revolted, as if to show that mercenaries cannot be depended upon any more by sea than by land.

Christian was much wanted at Copenhagen, but as soon as he left the fleet a great change took place in the energy with which it was directed.

Admiral Galte was left to blockade the Swedish fleet, but the latter no sooner got a fair wind than it stood out to sea without meeting any opposition, and for this want of courage and zeal Galte lost his head. A great disaster to the Danes soon followed. Great exertions were made in Sweden to equip another fleet, of which Wrangel took the command. Du Quesne, afterwards so celebrated for his naval exploits, was second in command, and the Dutch sailors returned to their duty. In the next battle the Swedes did not lose a single ship, but the Danes had ten ships captured, two burned,

and three driven on shore. Among the captured vessels taken in triumph to Stockholm was the one which had carried the Queen Dowager to Denmark.

Immediately after the invasion of Denmark, Christian had sent to solicit the alliance and assistance of the Emperor, and the Imperial General Gallas had been ordered to follow Torstenson into Holstein, where he was joined by a Danish Corps.

As Gallas did not venture to give battle, he was soon reduced to the greatest extremities by his adversary, who established fortified posts all round his position, and cut off his supplies. Gallas was even more unfortunate in his retreats than in his battles, and when he escaped from Holstein at last, it was with only 1000 infantry. The rest of his army had perished either by the sword or by famine. The soldiers called him the army-loser instead of the army-leader.

The Danes, also, were very bitter against him, for their country had been more ravaged by his troops than by the enemy. They cast a medal, on one side of which was the inscription, "What Gallas accomplished in Holstein." The other side was blank.

Such was the position of affairs when Christina, who was now eighteen years old, was declared to have attained her majority, and the Regents resigned their authority into her hands.

CHAPTER IV.

Christina proclaimed *King* of Sweden—Grant of Indemnity for the Past Acts of the Regents, particularly the Alienation of Crown lands—Encroachments of the Nobles—Negotiations for Peace with Denmark—Christina counsels moderation in proposing terms—The Peace of Brömsebro—Chancellor Oxenstiern created a Count—Death of Hugo Grotius — His relations with Christina and the Swedish Court—Details of his Life, Works, and Character—His Religious Opinions, and Project to reconcile the various Christian Sects—The Queen's Favour for Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie, Swedish Ambassador at Paris—Observations on Christina's Talents and Acquirements — Oxenstiern's Struggles for Mastery in the Council—Proposals for the Queen's Marriage—Pretensions of Frederick William of Brandenburg to her hand—Her Cousin, Charles Gustavus, a Favoured Suitor—Change in her Feelings and Behaviour towards him—Early Period at which her Determination to abdicate was formed—Her Desire that Charles Gustavus should be appointed her Successor—Victory of Torstenson over the Austrians at Jankowitz—His Resignation of the Command of the Swedish Army—Distinguished Military Services—Christina's Letter to Condé on his Victory at Nördlingen—Position of Sweden during the Thirty Years' War — Christina's anxiety to bring about the Peace of

Westphalia—Disputes of Salvius and John Oxenstiern, her Representatives at the Congress—Their Opinion of French Character and Manners—The French Envoys—Richelieu's Support of a Heretic Government — Demand for the Cession of Pomerania by the Aristocratic Party in Sweden —Chanut, the French Minister at Stockholm—The appointment of Axel Lilje and Salvius as Senators—The Peace of Westphalia—State of Germany during the Thirty Years' War—Death of Uladislaus, King of Poland—Election of John Casimir to the Vacant Throne—Domestic Administration of Sweden—Attempted Assassination of Queen Christina.

THE States assembled at Stockholm, in December, 1644, and preparations were made to hand over the authority to Christina on the 8th of that month, which was her birthday. She then appeared for the first time in royal splendour, accompanied by the Senators and great Officers of State. She was seated on a silver throne, the gift of Magnus de la Gardie, from whence she addressed the assembly with much dignity, and received their oath of allegiance. After the various dignitaries had done homage to her she promised, on her part, to show due consideration for the Council, not to govern without consulting them, nor to resent any advice they might give. In deference to her own prejudices, as well as those of her people, she was proclaimed *King* of Sweden.

Christina entered upon her duties with a profound feeling of the great responsibility she incurred. She states in her memoirs that constant labour and watchfulness were required to render her worthy of her post, and confesses the fearful reckoning she should owe to God for the right performance of her duties.*

One of her first measures was to grant an indemnity to the Regents for their past acts. It would have been most difficult and ungracious to have withheld this indemnity; but it is certain that Christina, in granting it, gave great offence to all the States except the nobles. The other orders had viewed with great dissatisfaction the alienation of the Crown domains.

Portions of these domains had been sold at various times during the war to defray the most urgent expenses, and as the Regents had declared that none but nobles could purchase the Crown lands, their alienation strengthened the aristocracy in the same degree that it weakened the Sovereign. The temporary assistance to the finances bore no proportion to the sacrifices which were made, for as there was no competition to purchase

* 'Vie par elle-même,' Chap. viii.

the Crown lands, they were sold very far below their value. The price paid was according to a uniform scheme, and professed to be at the rate of one hundred rix-dollars for a property which gave a revenue of three rix-dollars, but as a very low valuation of the Crown lands was made, few of the purchasers in reality got less than ten or twelve per cent. for their money. It was against the constitution to alienate these domains during the minority of a Sovereign, but the demand for money was urgent, and the Regents asserted that no other means of supplying it could be devised.

If the Crown alone had suffered from the encroachments of the nobility, the other States might have viewed the subject with philosophic indifference, but they perceived that the scheme of the nobles was to enrich themselves at the expense of all the other orders. Sweden was in that state when land constitutes the only wealth, and the whole of the land threatened to become the property of the aristocracy.

The peasants and farmers were greatly discontented. When they were the tenants of the Crown, they were indulgently treated: sons succeeded their fathers in the land they cultivated, by

a tacit understanding which was practically as advantageous to them as an absolute right of inheritance.

All this was now changed, and the tenant was turned out at the pleasure of a new landlord. Sometimes a nobleman did not acquire the positive ownership of an estate, but only purchased certain charges upon it. In these cases he often obliged the occupant, by a series of persecutions, to relinquish the entire property; and if an obstinate plebeian would not submit, the lot fell on him to serve as a soldier.

The tyranny of the nobles was already loudly complained of, but its sphere was widely extended by the sale of the Crown lands. It had been provided that whenever the Queen attained her majority, she should be at liberty to annul the act of the Regents, and to resume her domains. The change of tenure was considered the greatest of all grievances by the people, and they urged the Queen vehemently to resume her lands, and the public opinion was so strong on the subject as to threaten a revolution in Sweden.

Christina could not avoid doing some wrong to one party or the other. If she had pursued the

old policy of the Swedish kings, and had allied herself to the people, she might have increased her own power, and relieved herself from the pecuniary embarrassments by which her whole reign was oppressed.

It could, however, hardly be expected that a young Queen should, by her first act, cause a revolution by which her oldest friends would be the sufferers. She soon had cause to complain of the nobles, but even when most irritated against them, she would not adopt a course which she thought was dishonourable. A price had been paid for the lands, and although it was much less than they were worth, she shrank from the injustice of an act of confiscation. In answer to all solicitations, she replied that she would never resume anything she had once granted. It is difficult to see how she could have acted otherwise, but it is evident that this first step gave a fatal blow to the royal authority, and paved the way for future encroachments of the nobles.

The States, however, were obstinate in their demand, and a revolution would hardly have been averted, if the news of victories in Germany had not diverted the public mind.

The first act which originated in Christina's own will, was a great and noble one, although it was not popular among her subjects: this was to restore peace in the North, preparatory to restoring it in Germany.

Denmark, defeated both by land and sea, was now almost defenceless. Königsmark and Wrangel followed up the successes of Torstenson. Horn also marched with a considerable force to attack Malmö, but just as he had thrown up his first works, he received an order from Christina to discontinue the siege, because she had agreed to make peace with Denmark.

The Swedish nobles wished to continue the war, or at least to impose very hard conditions on Christian. The young Queen was more moderate, and she was supported by the clergy and citizens. She said that Sweden also required peace, that it was injudicious to draw the bow too tight, or to drive an enemy to despair.

Oxenstiern went to Brömsebro, on the frontier between Småland and Blekingen, to meet the Danish negotiator, Corfitz Ulfeld.

The mutual exasperation was so great that, by the advice of the French mediator, La Thuillerie,

the negotiators did not meet, but employed agents to discuss the conditions of peace.

The task at first seemed hopeless, for Christian disputed every point as tenaciously as if he had been the victor. He demanded an indemnification for the expenses of the war, and the restitution of all conquests. On the other hand, Oxenstiern's usual desire for the aggrandizement of his country was heightened by particular animosity towards the Danes. He considered it was his especial duty to take care that Sweden did not lose by the pen what she gained by the sword.

He worked indefatigably at these negotiations, and the whole of the correspondence was written with his own hand. It was on this occasion that he said of himself, "I was born to work, I have worked all my life, and I shall die working."* If his industry and talents had been employed only in serving his own country, without injuring others, he would have been a greater benefactor to Sweden, but his name would never have become so famous. On the present occasion his wish to injure Denmark was as great as his desire to serve

* Catteau Catteville. 'Histoire de Christine.' Tome I., p. 207.

Sweden, for he said, "I was obliged to submit to their terms at Knäröd, but we have turned over another leaf now, and it is Sweden's turn to prescribe conditions."*

Oxenstiern refused to continue any negotiations unless all claim to Sound dues was given up so far as Sweden was concerned. Christian insisted that the cession of the places captured by the Swedes, and an indemnity for the expenses of the war, must precede any further arrangement.

Peace would never have been made while both sides were so inflexible, but tidings arrived almost simultaneously of a great victory gained by Torstenson at Jankowitz, of Königsmark's conquest of Bremen, and Wrangel's successes in Holstein, and the brave old King was obliged to give way. He agreed most reluctantly to cede Gothland, Jemtland, and Ösel. Oxenstiern now raised his demands, and appeared to aim at the complete dismemberment of Denmark.

Christian was driven to despair by the terms proposed. He assembled the States, and asked them to make another effort to resist such dis-

* Kön. Kais. Staats. Reichs. und Hans. Archiv. Acta Danica 1644. Apud Fryxell.

graceful conditions. The citizens, and even the clergy, were willing to perish with their King rather than submit to these hard terms, but the nobles voted for peace.

The Danish nobility were as powerful and as tyrannical as the Swedish. Almost all the country, except the Crown domains, belonged to them; but, unlike the Swedish nobility, they wasted their revenues in luxury and sloth. Courage and fortitude, which an aristocracy generally preserve after all other estimable qualities are gone, were quite lost among the Danish nobles.

It would be difficult to find another example in any age where king, citizens, and priests have been willing to draw the sword for their country, and where they have been held back by the nobles.

It was to Christina's honour that she rejected the advice of her ministers, and refused to drive a brave king and a gallant nation to extremity.

She did not give any sentimental reasons for her forbearance, but urged sound maxims of policy. She said that the most complete success would not relieve Sweden from the odium of unmeasured ambition, and that "the chief thing is, to satisfy our own conscience, and to show before

God and all the world that we are willing to agree to reasonable terms." She said it was better to secure solid advantages rather than trust the uncertainty of war to gain still more. She reminded her councillors that the Dutch were doubtful allies, who might soon recollect it was their interest to preserve some balance of power in the North, and that the Poles were always ready to take advantage of any false step. Her letter to Oxenstiern,*

* 'Monsieur le Chancelier,—

'Je trouve outre cela tant de difficultés à continuer cette guerre, que je crois qu'on aura bien de la peine à conduire un si grand ouvrage avec des moïens si petits: de sorte que ce sera donner beaucoup au hazard que de refuser les conditions qui nous sont offertes. Outre cela il faut aussi considérer, qu'il seroit bien difficile de supporter les calomnies qui se répandront taut chez les Suedois que chez les etrangers, qut tous, au cas que la paix se rompit, en attribueront la cause à une ambition démesurée de notre part, qui ne se fondoit que sur l'injustice même, et n'avoit pour but que de dominer.

'Et comme je ne m'assure pas tout-à-fait de la coopération des Hollandois, je crains, que si les conditions proposées ne sont pas acceptées, ils ne tâchent de devenir les arbitres de la guerre et de la paix: de sorte que leur jalousie les fera peut-être, entreprendre quelque chose d'imprévu, sans parler de ce que les Polonois pourroient faire. Eufin la dernière et la principale considération est, qu'il faut satisfaire à sa conscience, et faire parrôitre devant Dieu et devant tout le monde, qu'on s'est prêté a tous les moïens raisonnables pour obtenir la paix . . . . à Upsal, ce 24 Juin, 1645.'—Archenholtz, Vol. I., p. 68.

in which these opinions are embodied, is a model of good sense and moderation.

The peace of Brömsebro was signed the 13th of August, 1645, and the terms were sufficiently favourable to Sweden. She was in future to have a free passage through the Sound, for herself and her allies. Denmark ceded Jemtland, Gothland, and Ösel, and also made over Halland to Sweden for thirty years, on the singular condition that it should afterwards be still retained by that power unless she received some other territory, of which the choice should be left to her.

Gothland had been an ancient dependence of the Swedish crown, and had only been in the possession of Denmark since the union of Calmar. The island of Ösel was important on account of its proximity to the part of Livonia recently conquered by Sweden.

Although Oxenstiern's opinions had been opposed to those of the Queen, she appreciated the zeal with which he had conducted the treaty, as well as his many former services; and after his return she raised him to the dignity of Count, a rank which was then so rare in Sweden that it only belonged to three families. That she might

not bestow a barren honour upon him, she gave him, at the same time, a considerable domain, which contained the district of Brömsebro, in which the treaty had been signed.

She conferred the title upon him on the 27th of November, in the presence of the whole Senate, when she thus addressed him :—

"My Lord Chancellor,—Although other titles of honour have their value, it cannot be doubted that the title of Count is the highest of all.

"Finding myself, by the grace of God, in a position to reward good and faithful services, I confer on you this dignity, the first in the kingdom. I can say with truth, and without injury to any one else, that during the thirty-four years you have served my grandfather, my father, and myself, you have performed every duty entrusted to you, in a manner worthy of the great minister of a great king.

"Perhaps it hardly becomes me to speak thus of my father; but every one knows that he made Sweden greater than she had ever been before, and he therefore deserves from us the name of Great. I will not dwell on your own particular actions, lest I should offend your modesty. God and your own conscience are your witnesses that

you had the full approbation of a great king, whose good fortune it was to have you for his minister. It is not the least of your merits that, although you laboured with him, and assisted him with your advice, you still respected your King as your master.

"When it pleased the Most High to take my father from this world, and to leave me a helpless child, you continued to serve your country, and you took care that I was properly instructed. Another in your place might not have known how to impose limits on his own ambition; but you have always been loyal, and have remembered what you owed to God and to me, your lawful Sovereign.

"Although I have ruled so short a time, I have had many proofs of your vigilance, your capacity, and your other eminent qualities." . . .*

One of Christina's servants, not less illustrious than Oxenstiern, died a few months before his friend and colleague received this new dignity. Hugo Grotius was believed by many to be th most universal genius that had appeared since the time of Aristotle.

* Archenholtz, Vol. I., pp. 70-72.

Unfortunately Christina had not time to appreciate this great man as he deserved.

It can hardly be supposed she would have esteemed him less than she did Salmasius and Vossius, but his stay in Sweden was very short, and he did not appear there to advantage. Christina received him well, but the philosopher was dissatisfied, and would not comply with her desire to send for his family, and take up his residence in Sweden. His success as minister at Paris had not corresponded with his great intellect and learning. His manners were not attractive, and he was deficient in the ready wit and lively repartee which would have served him better in that gay capital than all his vast stores of knowledge.

He felt himself that on the whole his embassy had been a failure, and for that reason he solicited his recall. It was natural after this that he should be sensitive. A little longer acquaintance with Christina would have set all right, for she could appreciate excellence of every kind, and did not expect to find the most profound learning combined with the graceful manners of a courtier.

One of her greatest favourites was Salmasius, and although he was very inferior to Grotius, she

did not esteem him the less that he was a little unpolished.

She always treated him with the greatest cordiality, although on one occasion she smiled at his awkwardness, and said that Salmasius knew how to name a chair in every language, but had not learned to sit upon one.*

Grotius had not learned the art so useful to diplomatists, of making himself generally agreeable.

Before he was driven out of Holland he had been sent to England to settle some differences between the Dutch and English East India Companies.

He performed his mission satisfactorily, but his character was very little understood in England as may be seen from a letter of the Archbishop of Canterbury to Sir Ralph Winwood, in which he calls Grotius "tedious, and full of tittle-tattle."

Another English divine, a certain Doctor Stewart, ventured a still stronger opinion, and

* 'La reine Christine disait du célèbre Salmasius, qu'il savait nommer une chaise dans toutes les langues, mais qu'il n'avait pas appris à s'y asseoir.' Storcle, 'Economie Politique,' Tome V., p. 28. St. Petersbourg, 1815.

pronounced Grotius to be "a smatterer, and simple fellow."*

Few would now dispute that the man who uttered this judgment was the "simple fellow."

Grotius wrote his "Mare Liberum" in support of the Dutch right to trade with India, which was then disputed by the Portuguese. He showed that the latter had no right of conquest, and that it was absurd to suppose the first navigators of a sea acquired a right of possession, although their visit might leave no more traces than the keels of their vessels.†

Oxenstiern had always steadily supported Grotius against Richelieu's complaints. The Swedish Minister's duties at Paris were not of a nature to make him very acceptable there. He was obliged to urge Lewis XIII. continually to fulfil his promise of sending troops and money to Germany. When Bernhard of Weimar died, several competitors arose for his army. The Elector Palatine Charles Lewis, son of the unfortunate Frederick, was among the number, and Richelieu arrested him in his journey through France, in order to

* Davis, 'History of Holland,' Vol. II., p. 744.

† De Burigny, 'Vie de Grotius,' Tome I., p. 60.

gain time for his own negotiations with the mercenaries. Grotius and the minister of England made sharp remonstrances at this illegal act.

He also had some disputes about precedence with the Cardinal, and although he only followed the example of other ambassadors in refusing to visit Richelieu so long as the latter insisted on taking precedence of them, yet this punctiliousness was more resented in a man who had lately been a pensionary of France, than in ministers who were powerful nobles in their own country.

It is probable also that the honest Dutchman did not assert his claims in so courtly a manner as Lord Leicester and Lord Scudamore.*

Grotius appears to have been very tenacious on this subject. In 1637 the Swedes and English had a fight for precedence in the streets of Paris. The Swedes began the attack, but the English were the most numerous, and won the day. The English ambassadors sent to ask Grotius whether

* Madame Grotius also was far from being an elegant person. An anecdote is told of her, from which it is probable many similar stories have originated. Madame Grotius was extremely fat, and one day, at the Court, Cardinal la Valette whispered to a lady near him, "Who is that great she-bear sitting by the Queen?" "It is my mother!" was the reply.

his people had acted by his orders. He answered that "he had ordered them to maintain the dignity of the Swedish monarchy, the oldest and greatest among Christians."*

The French appear to have preferred the claims of the English, and Grotius had the folly to threaten the editor of a Gazette for representing this; but the Frenchman answered that he only obeyed the King and the Cardinal. Even then Grotius would not let the matter drop: he continued to discuss with Lord Leicester their relative claims to precedence, and among other arguments he gravely quoted the authority of Tacitus, regarding the antiquity of the Swedish nation. Leicester quietly observed that a long period had elapsed since Tacitus, during which no mention had been made of Sweden. To the credit of both ambassadors, it must be remarked that they lived on terms of great cordiality, notwithstanding this difference. The extravagant estimate he formed of the importance of his adopted country, is perhaps the only folly or weakness with which Grotius can be reproached.†

* 'Vie de Grotius,' Vol. I., p. 394.

† The celebrated Father Joseph, so much employed by

He observed a degree of moderation on religious subjects which rendered him an object of suspicion to the zealous Lutherans.

Although he was sincerely religious, and employed much of his time and learning on religious subjects, he showed no animosity in the controversies between the different creeds. During his residence in France he took no notice of the Huguenots nor of the Dutch refugee clergy. When he was minister at Paris, his chaplain was a zealous Lutheran named Brandanus. Grotius appointed him on the conditions that he should observe moderation in his sermons, and should avoid any public controversy with either Catholics or Calvinists. When Brandanus found that his patron's chapel had become crowded and fashionable, he could not resist the opportunity of launching into invectives against both the rival churches. Grotius was much provoked at this. He repri-

Richelieu, was particularly hostile to Grotius. When they discussed questions between the two countries, Joseph always began the negotiations, and bore the brunt of the first contest. After a warm debate, the Cardinal used to interpose, "I find that you and Joseph will never agree, so I must make you friends, and propose a middle course." 'Grotii Epistolæ,' 375-380. Fol.: Amsterdam, 1687.

manded Brandanus several times, and at last dismissed him.*

At one time Grotius resided with his friend the President de Même, whose fine library was of great use in the completion of his great work "De Jure Belli et Pacis." Grotius then carried his complaisance so far as to abstain from meat on Fridays, and from the public exercise of the reformed religion; yet his whole life may well shield him from the charge of religious indifference. Even among professed divines, few could equal him in the laboriousness of his efforts in defence of Christianity. He composed his "Tractatus de Veritate Religionis," while he was ambassador at Paris. It was highly esteemed by both Catholics and Protestants, and was translated into twelve languages.

One Englishman translated it into Turkish, and Pocock rendered it into Arabic, a circumstance which afterwards gave some enemies occasion to say that Grotius had copied his book from an ancient work in Arabic. Among his profound and multifarious labours, the one he had most at heart was the reconciliation of the various hostile

* 'Vie de Grotius,' p. 337.

sects of Christians.* We may now see that his design was as hopeless as the search after the philosopher's stone; but in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries men of great learning and judgment thought differently. Erasmus, Melancthon, Cassander, Casaubon, and Arminius, all entertained the project. The amiable Matthiæ earnestly desired this reconciliation, and Christina endeavoured in vain to bring it about. Oxenstiern at one time wished to unite the Lutheran and Reformed churches, but soon found the impracticability of such a course, and from that time he resisted any change in the established form of worship.† The learned Huet, Bishop of Avranches, although a zealous Catholic, did not despair of all Christians being brought into one fold by means of a little mutual concession.

The Lutherans were less inclined to peace than the Calvinists, with the exception of one eminent

* He wrote to his brother:—'Je ne cesserai jamais de faire tout ce que je pourrai pour contribuer à établir la paix entre les Chrétiens, et quand je n'y reussirois pas, il est beau de mourrir dans une si pieuse entreprise.' 'Vie de Grotius,' p. 232.

† Fryxell. Vol. XVIII., p. 87.

man, George Calixtus, who held the same views as Grotius.

The Synod of Charenton had considered the subject in 1631, and the reformed doctors then admitted that the Lutheran religion was conformable with the spirit of true piety, and that it was free from fundamental errors; but as the Lutheran divines did not exhibit equal charity, nothing was accomplished.

Uladislaus of Poland had also made an attempt to unite the two Protestant Churches with the Catholic; for this purpose a Conference was held at Thorn in 1645; but this attempt was even less successful than the former ones, and "the persons employed by the three churches to heal their divisions, returned from the conference with a greater measure of party zeal, and a smaller portion of Christian charity than they brought to it."*

If such a reconciliation had been possible, the only mode of carrying it out would have been that of Grotius and Casaubon. They knew that the Catholics would not openly renounce any position they had long maintained, and that the side from

* Mosheim's 'Ecclesiastical History,' Vol. IV., p. 7.

whence the divergence arose, must make some concessions. The honour of the ancient Church being thus saved, it was hoped that pious men, who felt the evils which were caused by the contentions of Christians, would be disposed to relax some points, and to dispense with an absolute conformity of opinion, which had been proved to be impossible by the experience of ages.

Everything was reasonable in this except the belief that rival theologians would act reasonably, that Protestants would be peaceable, and Catholics liberal.

Grotius had the moderation of a man who is accustomed to examine all sides of a question, but his feeling for the Catholics was not one of mere indulgence; he undoubtedly drew nearer and nearer to their doctrines, and when he found it was hopeless to get a church free from error, he preferred what he thought the most ancient and respectable error. As a similar process took place in the minds of several of the greatest thinkers in the 17th century, and in the mind of Christina herself, it will not be out of place to notice the gradual approach of Grotius to Catholicism. The fact cannot be disposed of in his case by attribut-

ing the change to levity, as has been done by some writers with regard to Christina.

Three natural feelings, which have long been the allies of the Roman Church, are, respect for antiquity, admiration for art, and the desire to be at rest from the doubts by which the mind is unwillingly oppressed. In the case of Grotius, the first of these was the predominant motive. His studies were chiefly directed to the ancient writers; and several of his own works were inspired by the love of antiquity.* His immortal work, "De Jure Belli et Pacis," is an attempt to deduce rules of conduct from opinions expressed by ancient poets and philosophers.

He was inclined to look most favourably on those maxims which could show the longest pedigree, and he carried the same feeling into religion.

He was well versed in the study of the fathers,

* He wrote one book, 'De Origine Gentium Americanarum,' to prove that America was peopled from Norway, and another work was only published after his death, called 'Historia Gothorum, Vandalorum et Longobardorum.' In his edition of Stobæus he shows that many of the maxims contained in the Bible are borrowed from Pagan writers.

and had great reverence for their authority. He resembled Laud and the English High-Church party in this respect, and although their violence and intolerance were quite contrary to his character, he often expressed approbation of their doctrines. So early as 1614 he commended the Anglican Church for the respect it paid to primitive authority. In 1638 he praised it more unequivocally for keeping its eyes fixed on better ages, and for admitting nothing new.*

His religious opinions did not remain stationary. In 1640 he published his annotations on Cassander, in which he defends the doctrine of transubstantiation, the authority of the Pope, the celibacy of the clergy, and the communion in one kind. He also speaks in favour of purgatory, and it would be difficult to say in what respect he differed from the Church of Rome.

He became more and more adverse to the reformed religion, and in 1644 he stated clearly that

* In Angliâ vides quam bene processerit dogmatum noxiorum repurgatio, hac maximè de causa quod qui id sanctissimum negotium procurandum suscepere nihil admiscuerunt novi, nihil sui, sed ad meliora sæcula intentam habuere oculorum aciem. 'Grotii: Epis: 966.' Apud Hallam, Vol. II., p. 313.

private individuals would do better to keep silence regarding their own opinions, and interpret the decisions of the Church the best way they can, rather than expect the Catholic Church to accommodate itself to their separate judgments.*

He seems to have arrived at the conclusion that it would be even more difficult to unite the Protestant churches among themselves than to unite them all to Rome. He speaks with disgust of the "partes distractæ, greges segreges," among which an emulation of railing at each other prevailed, which was described by Dryden in the lines,—

> "Not one reformed can with another join,
> But all from each as from damnation fly:
> No union they pretend but in non-Popery."

If Grotius had lived a short time longer he would have probably proclaimed openly his adhesion to the Roman Church, and it is said that he promised his friend Monsieur Bignon to do so as soon as he returned from Sweden.†

When Grotius could not be persuaded to remain

* Hallam's 'Literature of Europe,' Vol. II., p. 317.

† One of Guy Patin's gossiping stories was that Grotius had said to Mr. Bignon, that if he changed his religion, he would become a Jew. 'Patineana,' p. 118.

in Sweden, the Queen made him handsome presents, and sent a frigate to take him to Lübeck. The voyage was a stormy one, and the hardships and fatigues he underwent were fatal to Grotius. He died at Rostoc, in August 1645, and his death corresponded with his innocent and exemplary life.

A Lutheran minister attended him in his last moments, and in the course of his exhortations he mentioned the publican in the parable. Grotius said, "I am that publican." He then repeated several prayers after the minister, who afterwards read some passages from the Bible. He asked the dying man if he heard. Grotius replied, "I hear your voice, but I cannot understand."

These were the last words of the wise and good man who had spent so much of his life in the study of the holy volume.

He had the singular good fortune to die at peace with both religions. The Lutheran minister performed the last offices of his Church, and after Grotius was dead, his friend the Jesuit, Father Petan, said mass for his soul.*

Among the many absurd and abominable accusations against Christina, was one that she had

* 'Vie de Grotius,' Tome II., p. 225.

poisoned a man who was the ornament of his age, and one of her most faithful servants. This accusation, like most of the rest, had not a shadow of foundation.

The letter that she wrote to the widow of Grotius was full of the kindest expressions, and was dictated by a sincere veneration for his learning and virtue. She says, "My ambassador will have told you the high esteem I had for your late husband, on account of his admirable talents, and of the services he performed for me. But he cannot have expressed to you how dear the remembrance of your husband is to me. If gold and silver could redeem so illustrious a life, there is nothing I possess that I would not give willingly for such a purpose."*

Christina purchased his library, which was a valuable one, and in fact his own works almost made a library.

His fame is inseparably connected with his book on the rights of war and peace, but in his own time some of his other productions were more esteemed.

His first poem, "Adamus Exul," was published at Leyden in 1601. It is little known now, and is

* Archenholtz, Vol. I., p. 0.

chiefly interesting because it is supposed to have suggested the theme of Paradise Lost to Milton.

The greatest critics in his own time, Casaubon and Scaliger, admired it very much. Casaubon considered him a great poet, and Scaliger said that some of his smaller poems were equal to the choicest relics of antiquity.*

His own favourite work was his History of Holland, which he intended to have dedicated to Christina. Although few men had suffered more from the violence of party than Grotius had done, yet this book was so impartial, that it was said it might have been the work of a foreigner who took no interest in the Dutch factions.

It was only proved to be written by a Dutchman by the profound and intimate knowledge it displayed of the subject.†

One of his writings was so little in accordance with the ideas then prevalent, that it was never published. It was a dissertation to prove that belligerents ought never to interfere with the

* Hallam, 'Literature of Europe,' Vol. III., p. 51. De Burigny, 'Vie de Grotius,' pp. 45, 46.

† 'Vie de Grotius,' Vol. II., p. 138. Baillet, 'Hist. de Hollande.' Preface.

commerce of neutrals. This doctrine was far in advance of his age, and it is only since the middle of the present century that it has been seriously entertained. Few men have ever lived whose talents were more constantly employed for the benefit of his fellow-creatures, or whose own life was more blameless.

His character has been summed up by Sir James Mackintosh as follows :—

"Grotius was almost equally celebrated as an historian, a scholar, a poet, and a divine; a disinterested statesman, a philosophical lawyer, a patriot who united moderation with firmness, and a theologian who was taught candour by his learning. Unmerited exile did not damp his patriotism: the bitterness of controversy did not extinguish his charity.

"The sagacity of his numerous and fierce adversaries could not discover a blot on his character, and in the midst of the hard trials and galling provocations of a turbulent political life, he never once deserted his friends when they were unfortunate, nor insulted his enemies when they were weak. In times of the most furious civil and religious factions, he preserved his name unspotted,

and he knew how to unite fidelity to his own party with moderation towards his opponents."*

Christina's next minister at Paris was of a very different character.

Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie was the son of the old General Jacob de la Gardie. His mother was the lovely Ebba Brahe, to whom Gustavus Adolphus had been an unsuccessful suitor.

Magnus inherited his mother's beauty and elegance. He was just four years older than Christina, and possessed all the qualities by which ladies' hearts are usually won.

He had travelled in France, Germany, and Italy, and the handsome young Swede had been quite the fashion in Paris, where Mazarin treated him with great attention and offered him a regiment. He returned to Sweden in 1644, and soon won the Queen's favour by his agreeable manners, his fine person, and his present of the silver throne. The next year he was made Colonel of the Life Guards, and it was soon whispered that the Queen thought of marrying him. Magnus had, however, been for some time attached to her cousin, Maria

* Sir James Mackintosh's 'Law of Nature and Nations.' P. 167.

Euphrosyne, the sister of Charles Gustavus. Christina, unlike our own Elizabeth, did not expect that admiration for herself would so fill her courtiers' hearts as to supply the place of all other attachments. She encouraged his passion for her cousin, and when he was betrothed to her in 1645 the Queen's favour to him increased, and she determined to send him on an embassy to France, for the purpose of strengthening her alliance with that country. His embassy was on a very different scale from that of Grotius. The young Count's suite consisted of more than 200 persons, and they were conveyed to the French shores in a line-of-battle ship and two frigates.

Chanut, the French resident at Stockholm, gave his own Court a hint of the new Ambassador's favour and influence with the Queen, which was not lost upon the French ministers.* Magnus was entertained splendidly with fêtes, dancing, and hunting parties, in all of which his graceful manners were particularly remarked. He used to speak of his Queen with such passionate devotion

* 'Memoires de ce qui s'est passé en Suède, tirez des depesches de M. Chanut, ambassadeur pour le Royen Suède.' Paris, 1675. Tome I., p. 29.

that the quick-witted Parisians naturally suspected the existence of other sentiments besides those of duty.* Her admirable qualities were enthusiastically praised, however, by many who were certainly not lovers. Chanut says: "She speaks Latin, French, German and Dutch, and she understands Greek: every day she reads Tacitus, and explains his most difficult passages.

"She likes to hear subjects discussed by *savans*, and never gives her opinion until everyone has spoken, when she does it in a few words, with clearness and precision. She reflects much before speaking, especially on matters of business.

"When she is in the Council, her ministers can hardly discover to which side she is inclined until everyone has spoken. Her power in the Council is wonderful; she unites grace and argument with credit and liberality."†

Vossius says: "It would be vain and foolish in me to attempt to describe her admirable qualities. No one can praise her without condemning other

* Il parlait de sa Reine en des termes si passionnés et si respecteux, qu'il etoit facile de la soupçonner de quelque tendresse plus grande que celle qu'il lui devoit par la qualite de sujet.' 'Memoires de Madame de Motteville.'

† Chanut, Vol. I., p. 245.

Princes: their highest aims end where hers begin."*

She was familiar with the ancient philosophy and with the writings of the Fathers, especially of Augustin, Ambrose, Tertullian, Cyprian, and Gregory of Nazianzum. Sometimes, to the great disgust of her Lutheran divines, she detected them when they appropriated the works of these old authors.† Vossius and Freinsheimius taught her Greek, although at that time it did not form part of an academic education. Her progress was unusually rapid. Vossius said she began to understand Greek in a shorter time than many others took to read the characters.

The second year she could read any author with ease; she translated long passages from Plato into good Latin, and frequently proposed emendations which learned men had only puzzled out after long study. At this period she valued learning at its true worth; she thought it good in so far as it made its votaries abler and better, and she hoped by its means to be more useful to the State.‡

* Grauert, 'Königinn Kristina und ihr Hof.' Vol. I., p. 261.

† Chanut, Vol. II., p. 376.

‡ 'Sie glaubte aber dass auch ihre Studien dem Staate

Her studies did not interfere with business. She rose at four in the morning, and dedicated the first hours to study. The rest of the day was given to affairs of State. She was constant in her attendance at the sittings of the Council, and always took part in the deliberations. She used to let the councillors discuss a subject, and listened in silence to all that was said, after which she would give her own opinion, which was always sound and sagacious. She often astonished the assembled statesmen by the ease with which she comprehended intricate questions, and separated them from irrelevant subjects; still more were they surprised at the calm and decided way in which she sometimes supported her own opinion in opposition to men before whom all the sovereigns of Germany had trembled. Her ministers professed to give way from deference to her age, her sex, and her rank, but in reality they yielded to her superior genius.*

dienten: denn sie würde sich wenig ans den Studien machen, sagte sie, wenn die Menschen dadurch nur gelehrter, nich besser und tüchtiger würden.' Grauert, Vol. I., p. 257.

* 'Man ville betrakta den som undseende för hennes ålder, kon och stand: det var i sjelfva verket undseende för hennes ovanliga själsegenskaper.' Fryxell, Vol. IX., p. 20.

She soon found how scanty was the knowledge of her native-born subjects, and she began to encourage scholars from France, Italy, and Holland. Her affability and courtesy pleased them even more than her munificence. Every Thursday she had an assembly of the most famous wits and scholars, when the evening was spent in conversation; she joined in it herself, heartily and joyously, without ever being petulant or dictatorial.

The learned world was quite fascinated with the young Queen. Gassendi said she had fulfilled Plato's wish that kings should be philosophers, or else philosophers should be kings.*

The grave and virtuous Pascal paid his tribute to Christina. He wrote to her:—"You reign, incomparable Princess, in a manner hitherto unexampled. Your genius captivates all those who have not submitted to your arms. For my part, not having the blessing to be born under the first

* 'Votum celebre fuit Platonis, ut ad regni felicitatem, aut reges philosopharentur, hoc est sapientiæ studiosi forent, aut philosophi, seu qui forent sapientiæ studiosi, regnarent. Tu vero id votum omni ex parte comples, quæ et regnando philosopharis, et philosophando regnas,' &c., &c. 'Lettre de M. Gassendi à la Reine Christine, du 8 Juillet, 1652.' Archenholtz, Appendix 21.

of your empires, I desire all mankind should know that I esteem it my glory to live under the second."*

The learned Bochart relaxed from his erudite labours so far as to write an epigram, which compared Christina to the Queen of Sheba, and may be thus rendered:—

"Two queens, from furthest limits of the earth,
Illustrious both for learning, as for birth
And love of wisdom, shine through ages forth;
One ruled the South, the other sways the North.

"Of these, the greatest, if we wish to know,
'Tis needless that our verse should longer grow;
Wisdom to hear, came from the South one queen,
Wise men now seek the North, taught by Christine."†

Heinsius boasts of having been born in the same age with Christina, as the first felicity of his life; the second was, that he had been known to her; but the third, the most decided happiness,

* Archenholtz, Appendix 20.

† 'Reginæ celebres longo memorantur in ævo
Vix duæ, et in mundi partibus oppositis:
Una Noti Regina, sacris pridem inclyta libris,
Altera in Arctoi cardine nata Poli.
Quas si contuleris, quam sit præstantior Orbem
Quæ regit Arctoum, carmine disce brevi:
Illa docenda suis Salomonem invisit ab oris,
Undique ad hanc docti, quo doceantur, eunt.'
Archenholtz, Vol. I., p. 250.

and that which he desires all future ages to know, was, that he had not been altogether displeasing to her.*

One reason that she showed so much favour to Magnus de la Gardie may have been the desire to raise some counterpoise to the power and influence of the Oxenstierns.

The old Chancellor had so long been used to take the first place in the Council, that he was not easily reconciled to take the second place. Christina was not inclined to brook a rival, and although she always treated him with great respect, she would no longer consent to appear as his pupil. During the negotiations at Brömsebro she had been much annoyed because, when Oxenstiern sent her the Danish propositions, he at the same time took on himself to send a draft of the answer which he considered as a matter of course would be adopted.†

After his return, the Queen and her minister had some struggles for mastery. On one occasion, Matthiæ's book, "Idea Boni Ordinis in Ecclesiâ Christi," was brought before the Council, and was

* Ranke's 'History of the Popes,' Vol. II., p. 355.

† Fryxell, Chap. VI.

condemned by Oxenstiern. Christina defended it, and the dispute became so warm that she burst into tears. She undoubtedly overrated De la Gardie's abilities, although they were by no means contemptible; and his descent from two of the greatest families in Sweden naturally gave him considerable importance. It was commonly believed that her judgment was blinded by love. However this might be, De la Gardie's marriage with her cousin took place when he returned to Sweden, after an absence of about a year.

Various stories were told which were more or less improbable, but they all hinted at love conquered by duty in the breast of Christina.

It was said that she would have married Magnus herself, if the Chancellor had not secretly traduced poor Ebba Brahe, and whispered that the young Count was really the son of Gustavus Adolphus. It is most unlikely that Oxenstiern should have told a dishonourable falsehood which cast a slur on his own order, and it is still more improbable that the report should have been true of the high-minded lady who refused to marry a king when she found that his moral conduct was not so spotless as the rest of his character. It

was also reported that, at the celebration of the marriage, Christina said to her cousin, "I give you one I may not take myself."

There were of course numerous suitors who endeavoured to win the great heiress of the north, and her subjects were naturally anxious that she should marry to secure the succession.

In 1647, the order of ecclesiastics sent her an address, informing her that celibacy was an inconvenient and dangerous thing, and recommending her to marry.*

Although at one time she appeared to waver, her disinclination for matrimony increased after she had begun to taste the sweets of undivided power.

When she was only nine years old, she heard for the first time the doctrine of the Catholic Church, that the unmarried state was the most meritorious. "Ah," remarked the child, "how fine that is! I will be of that religion."†

When she was twenty-two years old, she performed in one of the masks which were then fashionable. She chose the part of Diana, and

* Chanut, Vol. I., p. 100.
† Ranke, Vol. II., p. 360.

broke Cupid's bow and arrows to pieces. She continued proud of her independence, or affected to be so, to the end of her life, for one of her last medals, struck at Rome, represented a Phœnix, with the inscription, "I was born, lived, and died free."

In her life of herself, or, as it may rather be called, her confession, she says, "I was born in such a rank, that I might have chosen any man most to my taste, for there was no one in the world who would not have thought himself happy if I had chosen to give him my hand. If I had felt any weakness I should have married like so many others. I would not have had that invincible aversion to marriage, of which I have given such remarkable proofs, if it had been necessary for me."*

* 'Vie par elle-même.' Archenholtz, Vol. III., p. 58. In another place, addressing the Deity, she says: 'Vous savez, quoi qu'en puisse dire la medisance, que je suis innocente de toutes les impostures dont elle a voulu noircir ma vie. J'avone que si je ne fusse neé fille, le penchant de mon tempérament m'auroit entrainé peut-être en de terribles désordres. Mais vous, qui m'avez fait aimer toute ma vie la gloire et l'honneur plus qu'aucun plaisir, vous m'avez préservé des malheurs où les occasions, la licence de ma condition, et l'ardeur de mon tempérament m'auroient précipité. Je me serois sans doute

When it was represented to her that it was dangerous for the kingdom to be left without a recognized successor after her death, and she was urged on that account to marry, she told her advisers that it was as likely she might be the mother of a Nero as of an Augustus.*

Two of her suitors were the two sons of the King of Denmark. Ulrick was killed in the

mariée si je n'eusse reconnu en moi la force que vous m'avez donné de me passer des plaisirs de l'amour.' Archenholtz, Vol. III., p. 57.

She told Chanut on one occasion, 'qu'elle avait taut d'aversion pour ce lien qu'elle choisiroit plustost la mort qu'un mary.' Chanut, Vol. II., p. 334.

'Sie könne nie leiden dass man mit ihr umgehe wie der Bauer mit seinem Acker.' Grauert, Vol. I., p. 320.

In her Aphorisms she was particularly bitter on the subject of marriage. She says in one:—'Il faut plus de cœur pour s'exposer aux malheurs du mariage, qu'à ceux de la guerre, et j'admire le courage de ceux qui se marient: mais on fait ce terrible contract comme toutes les autres choses de la vie, dont on ne considère presque pas l'importance, ni à quoi l'on s'engage.' Cent. 4, Aph. 44.

In another she says: 'Socrate disoit, si tu te maries, ou que tu ne te maries pas, tu t'en repentiras. Moi je crois que tout homme qui se marie, s'en repentira infailliblement: mais je ne vois pas pourquoi on se repentiroit de ne s'être pas marié; j'én puis juger par experience.' Cent. 4. Aph. 45.

* Jag kan likaså lätt blifva mor åt en Nero, som åt en Augustus.' Fryxell, Vol. IX., p. 68.

Thirty Years' War, and his brother Frederick succeeded to his pretensions. These pretensions were worth very little, as Christina did not listen to them, and the Swedish aristocracy would never have permitted such an alliance. In this case, as in several others, the hope of winning her hand was the means of deferring war.

The Danes did not wish to lose a chance of reuniting the Northern Crowns, and therefore refrained from joining the Imperialists at a critical time. The hope of obtaining the young heiress also made the policy of Frederick William of Brandenburg more favourable to Sweden.

He had been encouraged by Gustavus Adolphus to aspire to his daughter's hand, and he was formally proposed by the Council when she was fourteen years old. The Oxenstierns were not in favour of an alliance which might have revived the influence of the Queen Dowager, and they also feared that Christina might remain in Germany, and treat Sweden as an appendage. Many thought that the couple were too high-spirited to agree, but Frederick William cherished hopes until Christina attained her majority, when he was definitively refused, and an end thus put to the design of

Gustavus Adolphus for the command of the Baltic.

Germany furnished several other suitors. The Archduke Leopold of Austria proposed to end the long strife between the two countries by a matrimonial alliance.

The Elector Palatine, Charles Louis, hoped that his house might regain by love what it had lost by war. A prince of Saxony wished to renew an alliance which his family had violated so treacherously, and to receive the hand of Christina as the reward. Ferdinand, King of Hungary, also tried his chance, but met with no encouragement. Her three Polish cousins all proposed for Christina, and although their father, Sigismund, still called himself King of Sweden, they were not the least ardent of her lovers. Their names were Uladislaus, John Casimir, and Casimir Sigismund. The second of these was a Jesuit and a Cardinal, but he undertook to get the necessary dispensation from Rome.

He afterwards became King of Poland, and his career, in one respect, resembled that of Christina, for he also abdicated his throne. Neither of them would probably have done so if they had been

united, and the bloody war between Sweden and Poland, which occupied their successors, might have been averted.

Philip IV., of Spain, must be added to the list of wooers. Unlike his ancestor of the same name, he showed no jealousy of his son. He even offered the hand of Don John, in case Christina should prefer a younger man than himself. Such avowed indifference for her person, so long as her inheritance could be secured, was not a likely way to win the young Queen. It was suspected at the time that the Spanish proposals were not sincere, but were merely intended to raise some differences between Sweden and France. Rosenhaue, the Swedish envoy at Madrid, viewed them in this light, and said, jocosely, the first condition was that the King of Spain must become a good Lutheran.†

Charles II., at that time a fugitive,* with little hope of mounting the English throne, was anxious to gain a share of the Northern crown. He sent the Chevalier Balandin to ascertain if his proposals

* Bougeant, 'Hist. du Traité de Westphalie,' i., 4.

† 'Pour donner entrée à ce discours, il luy envoya son portrait.' Chanut, Vol. II., p. 195.

would have any chance of success. By way of introducing the subject, and in the hope of captivating Christina, Charles sent her his portrait; but the result was so little satisfactory, that he wisely avoided the mortification of a direct refusal by abstaining from making a positive offer. Christina wrote a letter to Charles, in which she mentioned an application from him, which had been handed to her by Balandin, but it does not appear to refer to the offer of marriage. It mentions some request he had made, probably an application for assistance, which she politely declines to grant:*

The only one of her suitors who ever appeared to have had a chance of succeeding, was her cousin, Charles Gustavus. He, as well as Catharine's other children, was brought up with Christina, and he resembled her the most in talents and disposition. They continually talked, danced, and played together, and they were called, in joke, the little bride and bridegroom. The Princess Catharine naturally favoured an intercourse which might lead to her son becoming King of Sweden. Charles Gustavus

* Whitelock, 'Journal of the Swedish Embassy.' Vol. I., 280.

was sent to the University of Upsala when he was fifteen years old, after which he travelled in Holland, Germany, France, and England. He returned to Sweden in 1640, and as the children grew up, play was changed to earnest, and for some time an engagement existed between them. The Prince joined the Swedish army in 1642, where he greatly distinguished himself. Christina wrote several letters to him in 1643 and 1644, which have only very lately been published.* They all contain assurances of unchanging truth and affection.

One of them, of which the original is still preserved, is soiled and crumpled, and is supposed to have been carried in his bosom by the young lover. It is dated the 5th of January, 1644:—

"Beloved Cousin,—

"I see by your letter that you do not venture to trust your thoughts to the pen. We may, however, correspond with all freedom, if you send me the key to a cipher, and compose your

* Bref till Karl Gustaf från furstelige personer. Apud Fryxell.

letters according to it, and change the seals as I do with mine. Then the letters may be sent to your sister, the Princess Maria. You must take every precaution, for never were people here so much against us as now, but they shall never succeed, so long as you remain firm. They talk a great deal of the Elector of Brandenburg, but neither he, nor any one in the world, however rich they may be, shall ever alienate my heart from you. My love is so strong that it can only be overcome by death, and if, which God forbid, you should die before me, my heart shall remain dead for every other, my mind and affection shall follow you to eternity, there to dwell with you.

"Perhaps some will advise you to demand my hand openly, but I beseech you, by all that is holy, to have patience for some time, until you have acquired some reputation in the war, and until I have the crown on my head. I entreat you not to consider this time long, but to think of the old saying, 'He does not wait too long, who waits for something good.' I hope, by God's blessing, that it is a good we both wait for."*

* Riksark 5 January, 1644. Kristina till Karl Gustaf. Apud Fryxell, Chap. ix., p. 32. Elfte Delen.

The opposition hinted at here arose from the clergy, who for some reasons of their own wished to prevent the match. They, of course, represented their own interests as the cause of Heaven, and grounded their opposition on the relationship between the royal personages. Their hypocrisy was proved by the fact that when an archbishop, who was devoted to Charles Gustavus, was installed at Upsala, the opposition of the clergy ceased at once. By that time it was too late, for it must be confessed that in the interval Christina had changed her mind. She assumed the Government in 1644, and for nearly two years few traces are discovered of her correspondence with the Prince. At the beginning of this interval Magnus de la Gardie came to court, at the end of it the Prince returned from Germany, and a great change then appeared in Christina's sentiments towards him.

She says to him, in October, 1646:—"Do not take it ill that I owe it to myself not to let anything in the world disturb my peace."*

* . . . . . 'ni bör komma ihåg, att jag är skyldig mig sjelf, alltför mycket för att låta någonting i verlden störa mitt lugn. Riksark, 'Bref till Karl Gustaf från fursteliga personer.' Kristina till Karl Gustaf, d. 13 Okt., 1646.

Another time she says: "Do not fear that the expression of your feelings will displease me: as a proof of your regard they are pleasing to me, so long as you keep them within the bounds which are prescribed by your cousin and friend, Christina."*

The change in her feelings must have taken place about 1645. Was it caused by the development of her absolute, independent spirit; by a suspicion of the Prince's inconstancy; or by a stronger passion for Magnus de la Gardie?

Charles Gustavus professed to take his disappointment very much to heart.† He expressed to Christina herself, and to his friends, his determination to leave Sweden for ever if she rejected him, yet it appears he was more comforted than

* 'Kristina till Karl Gustaf utan dato, men måhanda skrifvet, 1 Januari, 1647.

† 'Drottningen, skrifver han, har återtagit sina förra loften, och unterhandlingar med henne blir allt svårare och svårare. Ach, min bror! Jag fruktar, att jag såsom en förlorad menniska måste löpa verlden omkring efter min lycka.' Karl Gustaf till Magnus De la Gardi, d. 22 Juli, 1646.

'Charles Gustave protesta que si elle refusoit de l'avoir pour époux, il n'accepteroit point les offres qu'elle lui faisoit et qu'il ne retourneroit jamais en Suède.' Archenholtz, Vol I., p. 165. Puffendorf, 'De Reb. Suec.' Lib 20.

he would allow, by her promise to get him nominated her successor if she did not marry him.

There is some evidence to show that, when only nineteen years old, she had already begun to consider the appointment of a successor, and her own abdication.* Some documents lately published, however, give curious information on the matter, from which it would appear that the subject of a successor was urged upon her. One of these documents, which recommends that her successor should be of the royal family, is sealed with Gyllenhielm's seal, and has a memorandum upon it, that it was [written for Prince Charles Gustavus's approval.†

In 1647 Magnus de la Gardie was married to her cousin, and Christina then seemed a little more favourable to the Prince.

She invited him to Court to attend his sister's wedding. She told him, however, that she had no longer any attachment for him, and that, if she consented to the marriage, it would be for the sake of the country, not for his sake or her own.

* Brahe, 'Miscellanea,' Fol. II., Afskrifna Rådsprotokoll för d. 26, 27, och 28 Feby., 1649.

† Fryxell, Elfte Delen, p. 35.

Lencœus, a warm partisan of the Prince's, became archbishop about this time, and the clergy were soon as much in favour of the union of the cousins as they had hitherto been opposed to it, but with Christina's ideas about marriage it was much easier to set her against such a step than it was to make her change her mind again. The States once more addressed her on the subject, and humbly prayed her to choose a husband.

She thanked them for their affection, and asked whether, if she chose the Prince, he would be acceptable to the representatives of the nation. The deputies answered, that if Her Majesty should be pleased to choose the Prince, Sweden would gladly accept him.*

It was now believed by many that she was about to marry Charles Gustavus, but as Chanut sagaciously observed, "No one can give a decided opinion in these sort of affairs until the event has actually taken place." Christina had by this time determined not to marry, and probably only asked the opinion of the States about the Prince that she might shift the onus upon them, in case, as appeared very likely, they should object to him.

* Archenholtz, Vol. I., p. 166. Chanut, Vol. I., p. 124.

Her behaviour to Charles Gustavus was now very uncertain. She made him large grants of the towns of Torshälla and Eskilstunda, and the castles of Käfsnäs and Ulfsunda.

Oxenstiern's opinion was asked about these gifts. He remained a whole hour silent, and at the end of that time replied, "I wish my opinion had never been asked on so weighty a matter, for I do not know Her Majesty's intentions towards the Prince. If the Queen marries him, these grants are by no means too large; in any other case, I entirely dissent from so important an alienation of Crown property."

Magnus de la Gardie wrote to the Prince in July, 1647: "The opposer, Oxenstiern, is now absent; now or never push your courtship, for I perceive favourable sentiments in the Queen. *Audaces fortuna juvat.* You must drive away all fear and go to work boldly. There are hearts that will be won, but will not give themselves away. Many defend themselves valiantly who wish nothing better than to be conquered; in such an important affair everything is to be risked."*

* Riksark, M. G. de la Gardie till Karl Gustaf, d. 24 Juli, 1647.

Charles Gustavus followed his brother-in-law's advice, and endeavoured to press his suit; but Christina told him she could give him no more hope than before; she endeavoured to console him, however, by telling him that she would make him Generalissimo of the army in Germany the following year. The Prince answered that it was herself he sought, and that, if she refused him, he should prefer to join the army at once. She took offence at this, and told him that, if he persisted in such a course, he would have nothing but his colonelcy, and that their engagement would be irretrievably broken off. The Prince was obstinate, and she ended by wishing him sharply a pleasant journey.

It was with difficulty that Brahe, De la Gardie, and Matthiæ persuaded her to receive his apologies, and to grant him another interview.

In the meeting which ensued, the Prince made a final attempt to urge her to consent, and reminded her of the engagement which had existed between them from childhood. The Queen refused to admit the plea, and said she would not be bound by a promise made when she was so young. She told him that she would not determine finally

until she was 25 years of age, and until after her coronation, but that, if she did not marry him, she would never marry any other, and that she would endeavour to get him appointed her successor. The Prince replied that if he could not be her husband he did not wish ever to return to Sweden. Christina told him that his ideas were too romantic, and so the interview ended, but the Prince was permitted to correspond with her through Matthiæ.*

She hardly knew her own mind about him at this time, but everything shows that she felt an interest in him, bordering, at least, on affection. Her gifts to him were munificent; she was already taking measures to secure him the crown of Sweden, and she appointed him Generalissimo of her army. As the Prince sailed from Stockholm to take his command, she watched him from a terrace overlooking the sea, to the last moment.†

It seems evident that Christina was, at one time, in love with Charles Gustavus, and it is, at least, probable, that she was afterwards attached to Magnus de la Gardie. So far from this justifying

* Archenholtz, Vol. I., p. 165.

† 'La Reine de dessus le terrasse, le suivit des yeux antant loni qu'on le peut voir.' Chaunt, Vol. I., p. 315.

the attacks which have been made on her fame, it appears that she sacrificed her own inclinations with a degree of generosity and self-control very little in accordance with the opinions usually entertained of her. She could not help the change in her feelings. The Prince did not grow up an attractive man; his figure was short and thick-set, his features plain and rather coarse, so that Christina used, in joke, to call him the little Burgomaster; his talents, although considerable, were not of an elegant or interesting kind. His failure may be attributed, in a greater degree, to his own fault than to Christina's fickleness. His letters, which are preserved, speak of his duty and obedience, but not of his love.

During his courtship of Christina he did not even take the trouble to conceal his intrigues with other ladies. At the very time that he was pressing his suit the most urgently, he had a son by the daughter of a merchant at Stockholm.*

It was natural that Christina should be disgusted with such a lover, and that she should be fascinated by the handsome and polished De la Gardie.

The great master of human nature has several

* Fryxell, Chap. ix., p. 40.

times described a similar transition from love to indifference, and in each case the cause has been the same :—

> "As one nail by strength drives out another,
> So the remembrance of a former love
> Is by a newer object quite forgotten."

Magnus possessed all the qualities in which Charles Gustavus was deficient. Gay, handsome, and accomplished, he was just intellectual enough to make his conversation agreeable with the assistance of his other advantages.

Whatever preference she felt for him, Christina had too much regard for her own dignity to marry him.*

Magnus was engaged to Charles Gustavus's sister. Christina had been warmly attached to their mother, and her marriage with the young Count would have inflicted a deep wound on both brother and sister. Christina behaved like a high-

* In a letter of Chanut's, which has only lately been published, he says, with regard to Magnus :—'L'amour de la Reine occupe une partie de son cœur, sans troubler en rien sa conduite, si ce n'est que pent-être elle retarde l'entrée à l'affection que sa raison lui conseille de prendre pour Mr. le Prince.'—F. F. Carlsson, 'Sveriges Historia under Konungarne af Pfalziska Huset.' Stockholm, 1855.

minded woman; she encouraged the marriage of De la Gardie with her cousin, and loaded him with benefits; but she gave him appointments which took him from Sweden.*

She gave Charles Gustavus a solemn promise never to marry any other, to atone for the wrong she did when she withdrew her plighted faith from him. This promise had a more important object than merely to soothe his vanity or appease his jealousy: it was intended to show that his chance of succeeding to the throne would not be weakened by her marriage with another.

Her efforts to get him named her successor were not confined to negative acts. She used every exertion to gain this object, and only held her own authority until it was accomplished.

Charles Gustavus was much piqued at his rejection, and he probably preferred a divided crown at once, to the distant prospect of having it on his own head. He talked in the most romantic strain to his friend Lorenzo Linde, of turning all his

* He was a year in France, between 1646 and 1647. The whole of 1648, 1649 and part of 1650 he spent in Germany so that, of the seven years he was in favour, four years were passed away from Christina. Fryxell, Chap. x.

property into ready money, of assuming a feigned name, and of seeking his fortune in some foreign war.

Christina said at a later period that De la Gardie treacherously set her against the Prince, while pretending to advocate his cause; and Whitelock, when ambassador at Stockholm, heard a similar account from the senator Vandelin.*

According to De la Gardie's letters and those of his wife, it appears that he did his best to promote the marriage, and after his own union with Maria Euphrosyne, it is difficult to see what motive he could have had for betraying his friend and brother-in-law.

The Swedish army had met with almost uninterrupted success since Torstenson took the command. After he had beaten Gallas, he marched into the Austrian hereditary States, where he was opposed by the Imperial General Hatzfeld. The battle of Jankowitz took place in February, 1645.

The Austrians met with the ill fortune to which they have so often been doomed; they fought well and obstinately, but they were totally defeated.

* Archenholtz, Vol. I., p. 167.—Whitelock's 'Embassy to Sweden,' Vol. II., p. 284.

Charles Gustavus particularly distinguished himself on this occasion.

Nearly every officer in his regiment was killed, and he himself received a ball through his hat, one through the long hair which he wore according to the fashion of the time, and another through his coat.

The firing was heard at Prague, in which place the Emperor caused prayers to be offered for the success of his arms. He hastened to Vienna as soon as the result of the battle was known. The greatest confusion prevailed in the Imperial army. The Archduke was attacked and plundered by some of his own troops, to whom he was personally unknown, and Gallas nearly shared the same fate.

Torstenson continued his advance until he came opposite to Vienna, but he was unable to cross the river in the face of the enemy; and his illness, against which he had so long contended, increased to such a degree that he was obliged to resign the command. Christina wrote to him on the 10th of May, 1646, thanking him for his great services, and accepting his resignation on account of his increasing infirmities.*

* Archenholtz, Vol. I., pp. 84, 85

Among the able Generals who succeeded Gustavus Adolphus, no one equalled Torstenson in military genius, or in the magnitude of his successes. It is true that he did not show such resources as Banér did, when his cause appeared desperate; but Torstenson had no occasion to use his invention to save his army from imminent destruction,—he never placed it in situations which success alone redeemed from the stigma of rashness.

Yet Torstenson was by no means deficient in enterprise. Regardless of his own sufferings, and although often obliged to be carried in a litter, he was especially feared by the enemy for the celerity of his movements, and was called by his own soldiers "Blixten" (the lightning). His ill health was not caused, like that of Banér, by his own excesses, but by the fortune of war. He had been taken prisoner in 1632, at the battle of Nürnberg, and was treated with much harshness. He was confined in a damp and unwholesome dungeon, and from that time he was always the victim of gout or rheumatism.

Voltaire said he was the only general in that age whose genius supplied the place of experience. He served, when quite a boy, as the page of Gus-

tavus Adolphus, during his campaign of 1624 in Livonia. In one of the battles which took place, the King had no staff officer near him, and consequently sent Torstenson with orders to a general to perform a certain movement. In the meantime the enemy changed his plan, and Gustavus was in despair at having given an order which might have led to a serious reverse.

He was reassured when Torstenson returned. "Sire," said the youth, "forgive me, but I saw the enemy had changed his plan, I therefore made a corresponding change in your Majesty's orders." The King did not answer, but in the evening when the page was about to serve at table as usual, he made him sit by his side instead.

The next day Torstenson was appointed to an Ensigncy in the Guards, and fifteen days after he received a Company.*

Torstenson was of a mild and generous disposition. He checked the excesses of the Swedish army, and restored something like their ancient discipline: this was very distasteful to the soldiers, and he never acquired the popularity of Banér.

* Voltaire, 'Siècle de Louis XIV.,' Chap. iii.

His whole conduct, both public and private, was ruled by religion; he was a generous enemy as well as a faithful friend. He supported the widow and children of Seckendorf, who had attempted to assassinate him.

His great services were not forgotten in Sweden. His health did not permit him to attend the Court, but Christina visited the hero in his own apartments and conferred the dignity of Count upon him.

Neither his native air, nor the esteem of his countrymen, could restore his shattered constitution: he lingered a short time, and died in 1651, at the early age of 46.

Torstenson belonged to an old West Gothland family, who continued longer than any other the ancient custom of being named only from their father's Christian name. They had no surname until they took one from the renowned Leonard Torstenson.

His loss was less felt than it would otherwise have been, because the great Condé was now fighting on the side of the Swedes. He had lately established his fame by the destruction of the celebrated Spanish Infantry at Rocroi.

He took command of the French army in Germany in 1645, when even Turenne had not been able to hold his ground before the Imperial General Mercy.

Condé soon changed the face of affairs. He fought a battle at Nördlingen, the same place where the Swedes had sustained their memorable defeat.

The Imperialists were now completely routed, and Mercy himself was killed.

The generous victor erected a monument over his remains, with the epitaph, "Sta, viator: heroem calcas."

Christina wrote the following flattering letter to the young Conqueror:—

"My Cousin,—Fearing that my ambassador, the Count de la Gardie, will not have seen you, I do not think that the congratulations conveyed by the gentleman I have ordered him to send you will be sufficient, unless I record with my own hand the high esteem I feel for your extraordinary merit. I assure you that my own successes have never given me greater satisfaction than your splendid victories have done. If your only exploit had been to re-

venge the manes of my soldiers who fell at Nördlingen, I should take the warmest interest in your glory. I hoped that your services would have been continued in Germany, and my own interest made me wish you to pass the Rhine again, and complete the humiliation of our enemies; but wherever the King my brother is pleased to employ you, I will always show you, by the joy with which I receive the tidings of your successes, that I am your affectionate cousin,

"CHRISTINA."*

Condé's answer was modest and graceful. He said:—

"I owe to your Majesty's goodness the high opinion that you have of me. My success in Germany is to be attributed rather to the fortune of the King's and of your Majesty's arms, than to my courage. It is your generosity, madam, which allows moderate successes to rank as illustrious victories. It is your Majesty's approbation only which makes me also esteem them so highly. The example of the great Gustavus might lead me to

* Archenholtz, Vol. I., p. 86.

hope for success; but as he was born to be inimitable, and as it would be neccessary to bring him back to finish those great actions worthily which he began, there is no cause for surprise that I have not been able to equal him. I content myself with having revenged, at Nördlingen, an injury which fortune did to his arms after his death, which she would not have dared to do during his life. To repair this injury, madam, I have fought for his glory, and for yours, that the enemies over whom he gained so many battles, might not boast of winning one from you. I should have been happy to spend my life in so glorious an employment, if the affairs of the King had permitted it; but on whichever side of the Rhine I may be ordered to serve, I shall always feel the most ardent desire to prove my devotion to your Majesty."*

The mutual admiration of Christina and Condé lasted until they met, when the charm was broken.

A princess of Christina's character could not be insensible to glory. The brilliant successes of the Swedish arms were calculated to gratify, and at the same time to excite her ambition.

* Catteau Catteville, Tome I., p. 215.

Her most important public act, however, and the one for which she most deserves the admiration of posterity, was the personal and active part she took in bringing about the peace of Westphalia.

The Thirty Years' War now resembled a chronic malady, which no ordinary treatment could cure. The Swedish nobles were anxious to prolong a state from which they gained so much. The country had been so long at war that war appeared its natural condition. The internal administration was adapted to a state of hostility, and it was felt that a treaty of peace would be a sort of revolution.* The aristocratic party had plausible reasons for the continuation of the war. Sweden was able while it lasted to keep a great army in a high state of efficiency, at the expense of other nations. This army was a protection against her jealous and threatening neighbours, Poland, Denmark, and Russia. The territory of Sweden was thus more secure than in time of peace. Her trade flou-

* 'Freden, om än efterlångtad, ar ofta, så väl som kriget, vid sitt inträde en tidpunkt af förlägenhet. Det är som ett hastigt ombyte af lefnadssätt. De länge utåt rigtade Krafterna Kasta sig på kroppen tillbaka.' E. G. Geijer. 'Svenska Folkets Historia, Tredje Delen,' p. 438.

rished to a certain degree by the depression of trade in other countries, and the Swedish statesmen were not enlightened enough to see that this prosperity was more apparent than real. The unavoidable expense was in a great measure defrayed by French subsidies, and much of the plunder of Germany passed directly into the hands of the Swedish nobles.

Although France gave substantial assistance to Sweden, the interests of the two countries were by no means identical. They were even in some points directly opposed. Oxenstiern had long foreseen that this would be the case, and he had refused to enter into a close alliance with France, until the first battle of Nördlingen convinced him that Sweden could not contend single-handed against Austria. Even after this he always remained very jealous of French influence.

Austria had been the chief sufferer in the war, but the people, by whom all the misery was endured, had no voice in the government. The Emperor and his Council did not wish to terminate the struggle before the wheel of fortune turned round and declared in their favour. They thought that in one fortunate campaign they might regain

all they had lost. It is difficult to surmise how long the war might have lasted if it had not been for Christina.

Her exertions in bringing about a peace were becoming to a Christian woman, and deserved the gratitude of her contemporaries far more than the purest orthodoxy.

Her desire for peace was not confined to public professions. She wrote private letters to Salvius, her minister at the Congress, urging him again and again to turn all his thoughts towards peace. In one letter to him she said, "What I desire the most, and esteem above everything else, is the power of restoring peace to Christendom."*

She was fully aware of the objections which were made to peace, and knew from whom the objections emanated. She hinted to Salvius that the Chancellor himself was one of her greatest opponents, but expressed her determination to carry her point.†

Not the least of the obstacles to peace, was the rivalry and animosity which existed among the

* Archenholtz, Vol. I., p. 123.

† 'Le Chance . . . fait fort le souple, (sed quidquid est, timeo Danaos et dona ferentes)' . . . . . La reine de Suède à Salvius, le 27 Novr. 1647. Apud Archenholtz.

envoys themselves. The two Swedish plenipotentiaries were John Oxenstiern, a son of the Chancellor's, and Salvius. The latter owed his appointment only to his ability; he was the son of a citizen at Stregnäs, and for some time had studied medicine, but afterwards obtained a subordinate post under the government; his talent soon attracted the notice of Oxenstiern, and of Gustavus Adolphus, who entrusted him with important duties and raised him to the rank of a nobleman. Christina said he was so clever in diplomacy, that he made every one do just what he wanted. A less partial account said that although slow, he possessed great knowledge of business, and knew well how to hide his own opinion whilst he found out the opinion of others.* John Oxenstiern was also experienced in business, but had so little capacity that any one could see directly through his plans; he was, besides, both obstinate and vehement.†

The sagacity of Christina easily told her what dissensions would ensue from the association of two men who possessed such different characters.

* Bougeant, 'Hist. des Guerres,' &c., I., 4.

† 'Kristina Königinn,' Vol. I., p. 175. Grauert.

Three years before she assumed the management of affairs, and when she was only fifteen years old, she wrote to the Prince Palatine that Salvius was labouring to bring about a peace, but that the Chancellor was not sincere in the same cause. She added, that "John Oxenstiern was about to proceed to the Congress, but that he was not likely to agree with Salvius."*

The two ministers not only represented opposite opinions and interests, but they appear to have been animated by a mutual antipathy of old standing. When Salvius was minister at Hamburg, he told John Oxenstiern, then at Stralsund, that he ought not to address Grotius, the minister at Paris, without giving him the title of Excellency. This was probably an indirect way of reminding John Oxenstiern, that Salvius himself had a right to the title of Excellency. Instead of apologizing for his want of courtesy, Oxenstiern sent a rude answer, "that he did not want to receive any lessons."†

* 'I. Ox . . . partira dans pen de jours. Lui et Salvius iront an congrès, mais difficilement seront-ils d'accord.' Lettre de Christine, le 23 Mai, 1641.

† Archenholtz, Vol. I., p. 98. Riksark. Acta Salviana. I Oxenstierna till Salvius. Stralsund, 10 Decr., 1641.

The colleagues could hardly have worked well together, even if they had had the same objects. Notwithstanding his haughty and overbearing manner, John Oxenstiern was to a certain degree aware of his own incapacity to manage the weighty affairs which were entrusted to him. Soon after his arrival at Osnaburg, he wrote to his father, and begged that he might be removed to some less difficult post.

The old Chancellor's answer contained an expression which has often been quoted to reassure diffidence: "Are you ignorant, my son, of the small amount of ability with which this world is managed?"*

The Chancellor at first reproved his son for his overbearing assumption of the title of "head of the legation," and told him that Salvius and himself were associates, with equal power and authority. "I am sorry, my son," he added, "that you do not show more greatness of mind than to be disturbed about such trifles. If every one would consider that other people's feelings are the same

* 'An nescis, mi fili, quantilla prudentia regitur orbis.'

as his own, there would not be so many quarrels in the world."

John Oxenstiern at the same time received a reprimand from his father, "for writing such long letters to the Queen about nothing at all."*

This lecture had the effect of suspending the quarrels of the two envoys for a little while, but they began again in 1646, and the decided preference which Christina showed for Salvius, increased still more the jealousy of Oxenstiern. Their differences were no longer confined to trifles, for they pursued different lines of policy, and the Chancellor now supported his son in the Council, although he still blamed his petulant expressions.

In 1647 he wrote, "Dear son, I am sorry to see you do not know how to manage your pen in corresponding with the Queen. You are not content to let things speak for themselves, but you show your ill-humour in vehement words, which prove that you have no control over yourself, although they do not injure your enemy."†

No opposition could alter Christina's determina-

* Bref. Ox., 1, 4, 28, 162. Apud Grauert.

† Fryxell, Nionde Delen, p. 57.

tion to make peace. This resolution appears in a letter of hers to Salvius, dated September, 1647, where she also proved that she was not so much the dupe of the French as some of her ministers supposed. "I perceive," she said, "that the treaty of peace is much in the same condition as if it was abandoned, and that every one is expecting the result of the campaign. Nevertheless, I trust that on your part you will use every possible effort to complete this work, which may the Almighty in His mercy prosper. I enclose a letter for Mr. Servian (the French envoy); send it him immediately. I should be very uncourteous not to respond to his civility, since he has offered to serve me. I must be polite to him, and assure him of my favour, because, as you know, he is the creature of the Cardinal. I am, however, well acquainted with French manners, and know that they consist chiefly in compliments—still one can lose nothing by civility, and it is best to pay them in their own coin. The compliments which they and others pay me, are mere flattery, which I do not deserve, but I think it best to return civility for civility. Express to them the affection I feel for the Queen and for the Cardinal. It is he who

governs everything, and for that reason you must make much of his creatures."

Oxenstiern and his party demanded conditions which even France, the ally of Sweden, thought unreasonable. Among other things, they insisted that the whole of Pomerania should be ceded to Sweden. The Elector of Brandenburg would have suffered by this, but he was not at all inclined to submit. If the moderate counsels of Christina had not prevailed, France would have been alienated, and Brandenburg would soon have been on the side of Austria. Chanut, in obedience to his orders, made complaints of John Oxenstiern's impracticability, and it seemed likely the negotiations would be indefinitely prolonged. Christina wrote a sharp letter to her ministers in April, 1647, which was, however, only intended for one of them. She said, "I add these few words to my official letter, only to express my fear that the much desired treaty, of which I have been expecting the happy conclusion, may be delayed for reasons which I do not understand. In order that you may be thoroughly informed of my will, be assured that I desire, above everything in the world, a safe and honourable peace. . . . . If

this is not settled, you must consider how you will answer for it before God, before the States of the kingdom, and before me. Do not be diverted from this object by the schemes of ambitious persons, unless you are prepared to suffer disgrace, and to encounter my indignation. You may depend upon it that no support of great families will prevent me from showing my displeasure before all the world. I am convinced that if the treaty is not concluded, I should be involved by your fault in a labyrinth from which you could never extricate me, and I therefore warn you to take care of yourselves."*

She wrote at the same time a private letter to Salvius, in which she told him explicitly that the reprimand was not intended for him, but for John Oxenstiern. "She knew," she said, "that a certain party was trying to protract the negotiations indefinitely, but she would let the world see that the Chancellor was not able to overturn everything with his finger."

She expressed her confidence that Salvius would do everything in his power to promote the peace; and she added, "If God grants that

* Archenholtz, Vol. I., p. 110, 111.

you return home with the treaty, I will reward your services with the rank of senator; you know yourself that it is the highest dignity to which an honest man can aspire in our country; if there were any higher degrees of honour, I would raise you to them. You will have to encounter the malice of the envious, but you may say with Marius, 'Contemnunt novitatem meam, ego illorum ignaviam: mihi fortuna, üs probra objectantur.'"

Notwithstanding the gravity of her style in this letter, she showed something of the fun and malice of a young lady of twenty in the postscript, where she particularly desired to be informed what grimaces young Oxenstiern made when he read her reprimand.*

The two French Envoys, D'Avaux and Servien, were as quarrelsome as the Swedes. Their disputes were more violent, as might be expected from the more vehement character of their nation; and it required the presence of the Duke de Longueville to restore even common decorum between the

* 'Je vous prie de me faire savoir quelles grimaces aura fait G. J. O. en lisant ma lettre et mes ordres addressés à vous deux.' Archenholtz, Vol. I., p. 115.

rival ministers. Each of them had proved his abilities in former negotiations, and D'Avaux in particular had displayed both patience and judgment in some delicate affairs which had been entrusted to him. His first mission was to Venice in 1627, when he pacified the disputes between that Republic and Urban the Eighth.

Venice had for some time been uncertain in her allegiance to Rome, and had even threatened the total defection of her Church. A very little fanning of the flame would have raised a Protestant State south of the Alps, for several minor powers of Italy sent offers of assistance to the Queen of the Adriatic. The Dutch were ready to take advantage of the opportunity; the Turks also tendered their aid to their old enemies, and prayed and fasted for the continuance of the disunion among Christians.* The Pope was reminded by his refractory children that St. Peter founded the Bishopric of Antioch before that of Rome, and that Christ himself had neither exercised nor transmitted any temporal power.

This was not the only occasion on which D'Avaux appeared as a pacificator; it was owing

* Daru 'Histoire de Venise,' Vol. II., p. 64.

to him in a great measure, that the differences were made up between Sweden and Poland, and he negotiated the truce for twenty-six years between them.*

If men of ability, ministers of the same State, who were working for the same objects, disputed in this way, it was not likely they would agree easily with other ministers who represented opposite interests.

The time of the Congress was occupied for two years by quarrels about precedence, before the real negotiations began. The miseries which the people of Germany suffered were almost unexampled; but Christina was the only person in authority who showed any earnest desire for peace.

Sweden had never altogether abandoned the cause of the German Protestants, although religion had long ceased to be her principal object. Religion was also a secondary consideration with France, especially under the government of Richelieu. He supported an heretical State for the avowed purpose of humbling Austria, and had no more sympathy with religious liberty than his antagonists. It was often made a matter of re-

* Biographie Universelle.

proach to him that a Cardinal should support heretics against the Church. "This war must cause you great embarrassment," once said the Papal Nuncio to him. "Not at all," replied the Cardinal, "when I was made Secretary of State, his Holiness gave me a dispensation to do anything necessary for the good of France." "But if it concerned giving aid to heretics?" "I think the dispensation even provides for that," said Richelieu.*

After his death, in 1642, his enemies complained loudly of the injury done to the Catholic religion by the alliance with Sweden. The French Court wished to depress rather than increase the power of the Protestants, and was very unwilling to sacrifice the Bishoprics of Pomerania to Sweden.

Christina had sound political reasons for her moderation. The troubles of the Fronde had begun in France, and it was therefore probable that the assistance she derived from that quarter would soon cease.

Almost all Europe was roused by the spirit which produced the revolution in England and the wars of the Fronde in France. Christina well knew

* Lavallée. 'Histoire des Français.' Tome III., p. 108.

that grievances were not wanting in Sweden to cause similar disturbances. She understood the threatening aspect of the political horizon, and she knew that peace abroad must precede reforms at home.*

The Swedish Generals had shown an undoubted superiority over those of the Emperor, yet their successes could not be considered altogether independent of fortune. She had no allies in Germany, and the loss of a single battle would have risked all her advantages. The proud and overbearing Swedish nobles insisted on conditions which would have perpetuated a state of hostility with the greater part of Europe. They had most unwillingly consented to any compromise with Poland; the peace with Denmark had only been brought about by Christina's active interference. The aristocratic party preserved the same spirit, and now demanded terms which they could hardly expect to be conceded.

Oxenstiern and his party required the cession of

* 'La Reine écrivit en 1647, à Mr. Salvius. "J'appréhende, d'avoir ici beaucoup d'occupation, de sorte qne je dois rendre graces à Dieu, si je puis obtenir d'une ou d'autre manière une bonne paix."' Archenholtz, Tome I., p. 92.

the whole of Pomerania, although it belonged to Brandenburg, and not to Austria. The Imperial possessions were at an inconvenient distance, and it was therefore proposed to take the Elector of Brandenburg's territory in Pomerania, and to give him an indemnification from the Austrian dominions, although he never consented to any such scheme. Christina resisted this plan of spoliation, but it was renewed after her abdication, and the result was that the Swedish armies were defeated and driven with disgrace out of Pomerania.

Christina gained the support of the clergy, and of the peasants, who were led by them, by a manœuvre which was not so common in her time as it has since become. The Archbishop of Upsala happened to die whilst she was struggling to make the treaty of peace. Christina delayed filling his place for a considerable time, and as many of the clergy aspired to the great prize, they took care not to offend the Queen by thwarting her pacific policy.*

She met, however, with the most determined opposition from the Chancellor and the nobles. Oxenstiern appears to have been sincere in his

* Chanut, Tome I., p. 81.

opinion that the terms he demanded were necessary for the honour of Sweden. His high character gave additional weight to his opinions. Christina herself never ceased to respect and esteem him, although his frequent opposition was mortifying to her. Chanut, the French minister at Stockholm, stimulated her exertions for peace; he told her that her own interest in the treaty was well known, and that if she allowed herself to be overruled, she would suffer in the estimation of the world.

Chanut's talents and character acquired him considerable influence with Christina.

He was an accomplished linguist and a good mathematician; his love of philosophy led to a close and intimate friendship with the great Descartes. His character was pure, honourable, and pious; his temper was mild, and he was a faithful friend. The Chancellor Leguier said that no one had more opportunities of enriching himself, and that no one disregarded them more nobly. Oxenstiern, who was his constant political opponent, bore testimony to his merits, and said, "that if Chanut had lived in Greece or Rome, his virtues would have been honoured with a statue."* His manners were

* Grauert, p. 185.

courtly, and in his first interview with Christina he gained her favourable opinion.

She requested him, in virtue of his rank as ambassador, to keep on his hat. Chanut replied, "that he would keep on his hat if it was necessary to prove that the King of France had an envoy of high rank at the Court of Sweden; but that he begged Her Majesty would allow him to remain uncovered, because he knew that the King his master would not wear his hat if he had the honour to be in the Queen's presence."* Chanut made urgent remonstrances against the obstructions which the Oxenstierns raised to the treaty, and he was partly the cause of the reprimand which Christina addressed to her envoys.

The answer which John Oxenstiern sent to the Queen, will give some idea of the insolence which the nobles displayed even to their sovereign. He said, "that it was Salvius and the French who prevented the conclusion of the treaty, and that if he could find out who had advised Her Majesty to send him the reprimand, he would make him answer for it."

The Chancellor no longer tried to check his

* Catteau Catteville, Tome I., p. 278.

son's arrogance. He gave up the attempt to be the moderator of the aristocratic party, and he showed how far his sympathies were for the order which he had hitherto kept within bounds. He spoke vehemently against Salvius in the Council, in the Queen's presence. Christina interrupted him, and said "that she would not suffer an absent man, who could not defend himself, to be so attacked."

In March, 1648, Christina proposed in the Council that Axel Lilje and Salvius should be made Senators. The votes were unanimous in favour of the former, who had been through all the campaigns in Germany, and was considered one of the Paladins of the Swedish army. An anecdote was told of his coolness and courage, which no doubt outweighed many services of Salvius. In one of the first actions fought in 1631, Lilje lost his leg by a cannon-shot. In a subsequent engagement another cannon-shot carried away his wooden leg. The veteran looked at it with perfect composure, and remarked, "Ah, it was the other leg you meant to hit!"

The election of Salvius was carried by the Queen with much difficulty. The proud nobles admitted

his merit, but, to use a Swedish expression, it was a nail in their eyes to see a low-born man raised to such a dignity.

They attempted to raise a legal quibble quite unworthy of high-minded gentlemen. They said that, by the law of 1634, Salvius was not eligible to become a Senator, as that dignity was confined to native-born nobles. Salvius was native-born, and a noble; but he was created, and not born a noble. Brahe said that Salvius had done good service, but that he ought to have such a reward as was suitable to his station. Christina said, "When good advice is required, it is useless to ask whether a man can boast of sixteen quarterings. I require men of ability for my service; if you, my Lords, have sons who possess the requisite knowledge and capacity, they shall have their turn, but only their turn. The offices of the State are not heirlooms." Oxenstiern said—"Salvius has served well, and has also been well rewarded. The rank of senator is the highest reward your Majesty can give." Christina replied, "If my father had lived, Salvius would have been a senator long ago." Notwithstanding the opposition, Christina's influence prevailed. Seven of the Council voted for Salvius, and only

four voted against him. He wrote to thank the Queen, and said that as he was an old man, and had no children, he hoped all reasonable people would allow him to enjoy for a little while the rank which would lapse at his death. "The right of ennobling," he added, "belongs as much to your Majesty as it did to King Magnus Ladulås, in the thirteenth century; and why should your Majesty's servants be respected less than his?"

In 1645, when the Congress first began to sit, Sweden demanded Silesia, Pomerania, Wismar, Bremen, and Verden, and twenty millions of rix-dollars. In the autumn of 1646, Christina instructed her ministers to give up, if necessary, a part of Pomerania, but to keep this permission secret. It must be confessed that this permission transpired through her own indiscretion. She had not conquered the weakness of her sex with regard to keeping secrets. Chanut tried first to find out from Oxenstiern if Sweden would accept anything less than she demanded. The old statesman was impenetrable. He scouted the idea of being satisfied with part of Pomerania, and told Chanut that Upper Pomerania was nothing; that it was hardly worth the acceptance of a little German Duke.

Sweden must have the whole of Pomerania. He would rather die than advise Her Majesty to be satisfied with such paltry acquisitions as Upper Pomerania, Wismar, and Bremen.

Chanut then went to the Queen, and after several interviews gathered from her that she would give up some part of her claims for the sake of peace. From this time the French plenipotentiaries gave only a languid support to the demand of Sweden for the whole of Pomerania.

By a curious coincidence, the first battle and the last operation of the Thirty Years' War took place at the same spot,—at Prague.

On the 15th of July, 1648, the Swedish general, Königsmark, took by surprise, and with the loss of only one man, the part which was called the Lesser Town of Prague, and which contained the royal palace, as well as the mansions of the principal nobility. The booty was immense, for many of the great Austrian families had taken refuge there. Thirty great chests of books were sent to Christina, besides a number of medals, pictures, and manuscripts. Few of the Swedes could appreciate these objects; and there is no doubt that a number of the enemy's guns and standards would

have been more valued at Stockholm, and would have been more suitable trophies. The productions of thought have a kind of life of their own, which perishes or remains dormant when they are forcibly transplanted to a ruder people.

The total value of the spoil was estimated at 50 millions of French livres, and Königsmark did not omit to take care of himself. He left the books alone, but it was said that he appropriated five waggon-loads of gold and silver. The old town of Prague, situated on the opposite side of the river, continued to hold out, but Charles Gustavus, the new Generalissimo, arrived in September with four thousand fresh troops, and the place was then invested on all sides. The people, however, defended themselves so well, that peace was proclaimed, and the old town of Prague remained unconquered. The brave defence of the citizens furnished a contrast to the pusillanimous way in which the Protestants surrendered without a struggle after the battle of Prague, in 1620.

The peace of Westphalia was signed at Osnaburg and Münster, on the 6th of August and the 8th of September, 1648.

Its importance was not confined to releasing

some of the finest parts of Europe from unparalleled sufferings. Its conditions formed the title-deeds of some States, restrained and defined the power of others, and proved to the partisans of the rival religions that their strength was so nearly equal as to render it impossible for one to extirpate the other by force.

There has never since been a religious war in Europe. The Roman Church no longer sought to propagate its doctrines by the sword, but substituted the more suitable weapons of learning and argument.

Men began to perceive that thought and physical force were not commensurate, that gunpowder and steel could only coerce what was material, and that the mind could always elude their agency.

Christina was blamed that she did not make better terms for her country, and her envoys were accused of receiving bribes; yet the acquisitions of Sweden were not inconsiderable.* She received

† 'Sverge gjorde åfven anspråk på Minden i Westfalen. Det såges, att Salvius låtit förstå, det saken kunde hjelpas med penningar, och att man derföre gifvit Salvius 20,000 och Johan Oxenstierna 25.000 R. dr. hvarefter de afstodo från denna Sverges fordran.' Fryxell, 'Berättelser ur Svenska Historien.' Attonde delen. P. 73.

Upper Pomerania, the islands of Rügen, Usedom, and Wollin, Stettin, Gartz, Golnau, and Damm; Wismar with its dependencies, Poel and Neukloster; the Archbishopric of Bremen with its dependency of Wilshausen, and certain rights over the Church and Prebends of Hamburg. The Bishopric of Verden was also ceded, but that of Osnabrück was redeemed by the payment of 80,000 rix-dollars to Sweden, with the stipulation that the Bishopric should be conferred alternately on a Protestant and a Catholic.*

All these territories were lost to Sweden within fifty years, and if her acquisitions had been more numerous, they would probably have been lost sooner, for so many places, unconnected with each other, and spread over the whole North of Germany, could not fail to be sources of weakness when the intervening country was no longer held by a victorious army.

Sweden was also to receive a contribution of five million rix-dollars from Germany, but Christina had the generosity to remit the share of some districts which had suffered the most from the war.

* Fryxell, p. 76.—Catteau Calleville, p. 251.

Worms was exempted altogether, at the solicitation of the learned Freinshemius, who was a native of the place, and who was highly esteemed by Christina.

The Bishoprics of Halberstadt, Magdeburg, Minden, and Camin were given to the Elector of Brandenburg, in compensation for Upper Pomerania. The Duke of Mecklenburg received Schwerin and Ratzeburg in exchange for Wismar.

France took possession of Alsace, which, so far as it extended, gave her the much coveted boundary of the Rhine. The independence which Holland and Switzerland had already achieved, now first received the confirmation of a solemn treaty.

Although Sweden had not always been fighting against the same enemies, the entire peace which Christina now procured was the first she had enjoyed for eighty-seven years. The Queen and her people rejoiced greatly at the conclusion of the treaty. The courier who brought the news to Sweden received from Christina a gold chain worth six hundred ducats: the person who brought the document itself was ennobled, and received for his arms three crowns united with olive branches with a dove for the crest. Although the nobles were not pleased

at the conclusion of the war, they did not attempt to check the public joy.

The ministers of religion alone raised their voices against the peace.

Innocent X. protested against the termination of one of the most horrible wars that had ever afflicted mankind, and he fulminated a Bull against the heretics who were put in possession of the "patrimony of the Church." The heretics despised his impotent malice, and the Bull was annulled by the orthodox Emperor.

The Lutheran intolerance was equally fierce. A priest at Stockholm declaimed furiously against the peace from his pulpit.

He urged his congregation not to acquiesce in it, but to cherish in their hearts a perpetual hatred against those who dared to call them heretics.

He received such a stern reprimand from Christina as almost made him lose his wits, for he denied having used the expressions which drew down her anger, although they had been heard by four thousand people.*

* 'Un Curé d'une paroisse à Stockholm fit une grande invective en pleine chaire contre cette paix, à cause que l'on n'avait pu obtenir la liberté de la religion Lutherienne dans

It would not be easy to realize the blessings which Christina conferred on Germany by the restoration of peace, without dwelling on the horrors of the Thirty Years' War. The lowest and vilest of men, the refuse of Europe, held the power of life and death over all that was noble and good, and used that power so mercilessly, that whole districts were depopulated. Both armies used to practise atrocious tortures on the inhabitants, to make them discover hidden property, long after they had nothing left to hide. Every enormity that we shudder to hear of when practised for a few hours in a town taken by assault, was suffered by the people of Germany for more than fifteen years. Those who escaped from their plundered and burning houses were chased for sport like beasts of prey. Those who did not escape were stuck up

les pàis hereditaires de l'Empereur, et deelama rudement contre les Catholiques, avertissant son auditoire de ne se point fier à eux nonobstant la paix, au contraire de conserver dans le cœur une haine perpetuelle, continuelle contre ces gens qui les appelloient heretiques . . .

'La Reine en ayant esté avertie, le manda et lui fit une reprimande si rude, que de confusion et d'etonnement, il nia d'avoir dit ce que quatre mille personnes avoient entendu.' Chanut. Tom I., p. 367.

for targets to shoot at, and the soldiers took a fiendish amusement in their agonies.

The Croat troops, always infamous for their cruelty, and often for their cowardice, used to put their wretched victims into ovens, and bake them alive.

It is difficult to imagine how the misery of the people could have been aggravated, but many contemporary accounts state that when the French took the field, the enormities they perpetrated exceeded those of the other troops.* Turenne, still remembered by the French as one of their model heroes, now began the cruelties which he afterwards practised in the Palatinate, and which have not injured his fame with his polite nation. It is not necessary to detail these crimes, as wherever there is an account of a French army among a defenceless people, the same story is repeated. Many of the victims died disbelieving in a God, as they thought such crimes must certainly provoke His interference.

* 'München. 'Reich. Archiv. Acta des dreyssigjährigen Krieges. I nästan alla specialheskrifningar oni krigshändelserna åren 1646 & 1648 berättas, hurn svenskarna visade mera mens, klighet, ordhalighet och ægennytta ån frausmannen.' Fryxell, Attonde Delen. P. 38.

A little longer duration of the war would have destroyed the very elements of civilization, and have reduced Germany to a more savage state than it was found in by the Romans. Already cannibalism began to prevail. Corpses were snatched from the churchyards to furnish a loathsome meal. Sometimes starving men chased dogs and tore them up with their teeth, sometimes starving dogs did the same to men. Prisoners watched for a comrade's last breath, to throw themselves like wolves on his body. Brothers and sisters ate one another. Parents in a fit of madness killed and devoured their children, then reflected on what they had done and killed themselves in despair. A troop of peasants and deserters established themselves in one of the forests of Franconia, and carried on a regular system of man-hunting from their dens. They were at last taken by surprise, when they were found sitting round a caldron full of human flesh.

Christina did more than any one else towards putting an end to this war. She met with little assistance in Sweden, and she made the nobles her enemies by her zeal in the cause of peace. She knew the danger of offending that powerful order, and she

shrank from doing so, as has already been related, in the matter of the Crown domains; but no fear could hinder her from carrying out her great and noble object. There is little doubt that she foresaw the ill-will of her nobles would render her position untenable, and all honour is due to her for her firmness in so good a cause.

Her high rank and her great ability would hardly have sufficed to carry the point against the greatest men in her kingdom, if it had not been for her wonderful industry. Sickness and languor did not make her relax her efforts, and she was better acquainted with the details of business than any of her Council except Oxenstiern.*

Everyone knows the power which an able and industrious under-secretary exercises over his su-

* 'Never would she absent herself from the meetings of the Senate. We find her suffering from fever, or are told that she had been obliged to be bled, but she was nevertheless in her place at the sittings of the Senate. Nor did she neglect to prepare herself for an efficient attendance on these sittings. State papers, many sheets in length, were carefully read through for this purpose, and their contents perfectly mastered. At night, before going to rest, and on first awaking in the morning, it was her habit to meditate on the most difficult points of the questions under consideration.' Ranke, 'Hist. of the Popes.' Vol. II., p. 353.

periors, when he is familiar with details of which they are ignorant. Christina was able to unite this kind of influence with the prestige of rank and the charm of eloquence.

She had already acted in the same way in regard to the war in Poland and Denmark, yet her enemies have been able to represent her as a monster of cruelty on account of one violent act, which was totally at variance with the rest of her conduct.

More crimes were enacted in one day by the orders of her contemporary Louis the Fourteenth, than Christina can be reproached with during her whole life, yet the "Grand Monarque" was long considered by the French the type of all that was magnanimous, while she has been held up to general obloquy. Whilst such verdicts are given, tyrants have only to perform their deeds on a large scale, in order to become respectable.

It is common to generalize vaguely and to particularize distinctly, and thus an isolated fault may appear more odious than a whole series of crimes.

Louis XIV. caused thousands of innocent men, women, and children to be tortured and murdered,

yet he was not considered cruel. Christina ordered the irregular execution of one man—probably a guilty one—and the generality of people knew her only by that deed.

Uladislaus, King of Poland, died about the time that the peace of Westphalia was concluded, and a large party was inclined to choose for his successor the Count Palatine of Neuburg, to the exclusion of the late King's brothers.

The affronts Christina had received from the Polish branch of her family did not render her indifferent to the greatness of the house of Vasa. She exerted herself in favour of John Casimir, the eldest surviving brother, and obtained the concurrence of France. John Casimir was elected, and expressed his gratitude to Christina in words, but did not abandon his obsolete claims on the Swedish crown†; and France, the ally to whom Christina had been so faithful, actually gave John Casimir the title of King of Sweden. She complained warmly to Chanut of this perfidy, and the Frenchman was driven very hard for an answer. At last he invented a refined excuse, and said that his Court gave John Casimir the title only as *in petitorio*, but gave it to her as *in possessorio*.*

† Chanut, Tome I., p. 369.

Christina's domestic administration corresponded perfectly with the humane disposition she manifested in regard to the German war. She considered the decrees of justice were sacred, and that it was true mercy to enforce them. She seldom pardoned a criminal who had been lawfully condemned, but she never signed a death-warrant without shedding tears.*

Not a single act of cruelty disfigured her reign; it was only after her abdication that she gave a solitary instance of relentlessness, which has been remembered to the exclusion of all her great and noble qualities.

Her firmness of purpose and mental courage have been described, and she gave a proof of personal courage and coolness in danger, which it is necessary to notice in order to estimate her character. Her humanity did not partake, in the slightest degree, of the timidity and nervousness of her sex.

Shortly before the conclusion of the Treaty, an attempt was made to assassinate her in church. It was the custom for men to put their hats before

* Catteau Calleville, Tome I., p. 274.

their faces, whilst a short prayer was said at the conclusion of the sermon.

A miscreant took advantage of this moment to rush on the Queen. Count Brahe alone perceived him, and called out to the guards, who crossed their partisans to stop him. The assassin broke one of them and leaped over the other. By the time the Queen had risen from her knees he was close upon her; but, without evincing the least emotion, she pushed her Captain of the Guards between her and the assailant. The officer seized him by the hair, and held him fast until he was secured, when an unsheathed dagger found upon him left no doubt of his intentions. No accomplices were discovered; and as the man appeared to be insane, he was kept in confinement to prevent any repetition of his attempt.

CHAPTER V.

Exorbitant Power of the Swedish Nobles, and Discontent of the Peasantry, Citizens, and Clergy—Attempts of the Aristocratic Party to limit the Queen's Authority—Mutual Exasperation of Parties in 1650—Proposed Resumption of Crown Lands opposed by the Queen—The Nomination of Charles Gustavus as Successor to the Throne proposed to the Senate—Oxenstiern's Opposition to the Scheme — State of the Queen's Health — Return of the Queen Dowager to Sweden — Correspondence of Christina with Descartes—The Queen's Amusements in Church—Anecdotes relating to Descartes and his Philosophy—Christina's Correspondence with Gassendi.

Some writers have asserted that Christina's earnest desire for peace arose from the wish to relieve herself from the weight of affairs which pressed upon her. We have shown, however, from her own letters, that she clearly foresaw the impending difficulties in the internal government of Sweden. Home affairs had always harassed her the most, as she was incessantly opposed by the exorbitant

power and overweening arrogance of the nobles, and she was far too intelligent not to be aware that many troubles which were hushed during the excitement of a foreign war, would become more urgent in the first moment of peace.

The political ferment which existed in so large a part of Europe began to reach Sweden, and its first expression was a series of complaints against the nobles from all the other orders.

The peasants remonstrated against the powers of imprisonment, of torture, and even of capital punishment, which were exercised, and often fearfully abused, by the nobles. These powers were more widely extended by the sale of the Crown lands. Many were now subject to these oppressions who had never been so before, and the class of free landholders who were not noble, (Bönder,) seemed about to disappear.

The nobles who had purchased a share of rents upon farms which had belonged to the Crown, obliged the peasants to sell their shares also. They adopted various means for this purpose. In some cases they omitted for a considerable time to claim their rents, and waited with deliberate cruelty, until an unfortunate peasant was embar-

rassed by a bad season, or by some other misfortune. Then the landlord pounced upon his victim, claimed all the arrears at once, and in default of payment acquired an absolute title to the land. Others used more summary but less legal modes of ejecting the Swedish Naboths from their fields. This kind of oppression increased as Christina continued to alienate more of the Crown lands.

This fatal system had been commenced by Gustavus Adolphus, it was continued and extended by the Regents, and it is well known how difficult those find it to stop, who have once begun to mortgage their acres, or to dip into their capital. If the most experienced statesmen in Sweden found it necessary to adopt this course in order to provide for the current expenses of the year, the financial difficulties were greatly increased when the Queen was called upon to recompense the many distinguished men whose rewards had been deferred until she assumed the government. The embarrassments were caused by the war, for which she certainly was not responsible.

The citizens complained that their trade was injured by the privileges of the nobles, who

received goods free from the customary tolls, and who seldom paid their debts, notwithstanding their great wealth. The clergy complained that the nobles were too proud to attend churches which were frequented by plebeians, and that they kept private chaplains instead. They gave miserable pittances to these chaplains, and treated them like servants. Clergymen in such a position had neither courage nor authority to reprove the vices of the people, much less those of their masters.

The impiety of the nobles did not stop here. They had the audacity to offend the Church in a still tenderer point. They refused to pay tithes.

Such were the separate grievances of the three orders, and they were all equally indignant that the nobles refused to bear their share of the general burthens, although on account of some concessions, more plausible than real, they claimed a character for generosity and patriotism.

All equally resented the arrogance which stigmatized their own orders as "ill-born," which provided that, if any such ill-born person should marry the daughter of a noble, her inheritance

should be forfeited, and which even attempted to make a law for the punishment of such presumptuous lovers.

It was universally felt that, although the letter of the law had not been altered under the administration of the Regents, yet that numerous encroachments had been practically permitted. All the honours and advantages of the war had fallen to the share of the nobles, and their insolence had reached such a pitch that some of the least discreet proposed openly to reduce all the other orders to the condition of serfs.

If these complaints had been urged only by the peasants and citizens, they would have had little effect. The former were too scattered, the latter too few, to have much power. The weight of the clergy thrown into the scale made a great difference. Their enormous wealth had been confiscated by Gustavus Vasa, but they had still remaining a more legitimate source of influence. Their education equalled, and often exceeded, that of the aristocracy. They were familiar with the history of the Greek and Roman Republics. They had studied the conduct of the ancient Patricians, and they had discovered that the power of the

Church was an element unknown in those times, which might now serve to combine all orders in maintaining their rights.

The clergy accordingly put themselves at the head of the movement. Some of the Bishops wished to temporize, but most of them shared in the popular feeling, and the inferior clergy were unanimous. The amiable Matthiæ, with his usual ill-fortune, strove in vain for peace. He said that the priesthood ought to endeavour, like good physicians, to calm and assuage the fever; but the Archbishop replied that physicians must sometimes take care of themselves. A petition was presented to the Queen, that no Bishop who was a nobleman should be allowed to vote with the ecclesiastical order. The nobles were denounced from the pulpits; the preachers said, probably with truth, that murder and all kinds of crimes were perpetrated by the tyrants, and that while the poor died of hunger, the hounds of the nobles fattened on the food which God had intended for man. A priest named Christopher, of Sudermanland, was especially remarked for his zeal, and he was warned that his tongue might cost him his head. The priest answered in a way which showed how dangerous

the spirit was becoming, "I wish to be the first to lay down my life for the truth."*

A remarkable feature in the agitation consisted in a number of political pamphlets which were spread all over the country, and many of which were anonymous.

The nobles do not appear to have been very strong in argument, if we may judge from one of the productions on their side, written by Shering Rosenhane. He describes a conversation between a nobleman, a priest, a citizen, and a peasant. The questions in agitation were treated in such a manner that the three latter acknowledged themselves vanquished, but even the more intelligent of the nobles allowed that the arguments were absurd.†

An abler pamphlet on the other side was called "Fursteliga Glasögon" (the Princely Spectacles.) In this the Queen herself was warned that the nobles sought to overturn her power, and to reduce the rest of the nation to slavery.

* Fryxell. 'Berättelser ur Svenska Historien.' 9. Delen. P. 86.

† Fryxell. 'Berättelser ur Svenska Historien.' 9. Delen. P. 86.

It appears certain that the idea of an aristocratic republic was not abandoned, and when the Diet of 1649 met, the high nobles endeavoured to direct the general discontent against the royal authority. They spoke openly of limiting the Queen's power, and even in her presence they supported the cause of the English Parliament against Charles I.

They, however, gained no adherents among the other orders, as these were not to be diverted from their real grievances. There appears to have been a tacit understanding between Christina and the agitators, that they should not find fault with her, and that she should protect them from the consequences of their temerity in attacking the nobles. Christina had both the talent and the firmness to have conducted a complete revolution at this time, if she had been so disposed. A coalition of the Sovereign, the clergy, and the people must have overthrown the power of the aristocracy. Several reasons made Christina stop short of so decided a course. She viewed war of any sort with horror, especially a civil war. The nobles were not obnoxious to her personally, and all her oldest friends were amongst them; she would not adopt measures which might have resulted in the complete destruction of their

order. Her resolution was formed to abdicate, and she felt it would be inexcusable to raise a storm which might shatter the existing constitution, and then to leave the vessel with no one at the helm.

Her only alternative was, as far as possible, to mitigate the evils which threatened on all sides, but this course was a fatal one for her fame. It left her with a number of bitter enemies, and with hardly any decided friends.

In 1650 the mutual exasperation had risen to its height, and it was only the Queen's calmness and moderation which prevented a civil war. She showed a decided leaning towards the oppressed orders; at the same time she restrained them from violence. Although she encouraged them in other respects, she always refused their great demand, the resumption of the crown lands; for although she knew and feared the plans of the high nobles, she would not treat them with injustice. The people considered her their friend and protectress, and the magnates did not dare to push matters against her. The three orders joined in a petition, in which they begged the Queen to reduce their taxes and to resume the crown lands. One of the peasant deputies showed her a loaf made of

bark, which he brought from home as an evidence of the people's wretchedness.

Christina gave a gracious answer, "that she hoped to alleviate their distress, but that she would not resume the lands."

The nobles uttered loud threats against the clergy, because they joined the other orders, but Christina told them to be of good cheer, for she their Queen knew how to protect them. The nobles also threatened the peasant deputies, that if any nobleman was summoned to answer for his outrages, they should suffer for it when the Diet was over.

The peasants answered threats with threats, and skirmishes between the hostile orders took place daily in the streets of Stockholm.

In the midst of the general alarm, the Queen retained her calmness.

She sent for some deputies to the castle, and cautioned them not to draw the bow too tight, but recommended them to continue their remonstrances against the privileges and outrages of the nobles. The deputies took the opportunity to repeat their arguments for the resumption of the Crown lands; but she told them they must not

attempt to infringe her prerogative, since she had the right to give away lands and goods at her pleasure. The Bishop of Skara said bluntly she had no such right, and that the income of the Crown threatened to be reduced to the produce of a few taxes, to its great danger and discredit. Christina answered fiercely, that she hoped he did not consider himself the champion of her crown's credit, to which the Bishop replied, "God forbid."

The deputies of the peasants made the same request, and even threatened to return home if it was not granted; but Christina told them she would never forfeit her word, nor take back her own gifts. She promised, however, that she would ascertain how much each peasant ought to pay, and that she would not let the nobles exact more. The peasants answered disconsolately, "It is no use, for we shall suffer wrong so long as we are under the nobles." Christina said, "I will punish any outrage so severely that no nobleman will dare to repeat it." The peasants repeated, "It is no use; if we complain, the judge also is a nobleman. They are all brothers, and it is useless to accuse one brother to another." Christina told them that if they came direct to her, she would see them righted.

A law existed in virtue of which no "ill-born" person could hold any office in the State above a noble. Christina declared that no person was "ill-born" who was born in wedlock, of honest parents. "Ill-born are those," she said, "whether noble or not noble, who disgrace their birth by idleness and vice."

Although no great changes were introduced, Christina appeased the different orders with great judgment and sagacity. The clergy received the confirmation of privileges by which they were secured in the possession of their houses and livings.

The citizens were gratified by the reduction of the salt-tax. The Queen issued an edict for the protection of the peasants, which ordered the nobles to treat them with justice and moderation, and to assist in punishing any member of their order who disobeyed her injunction.*

How little the nobles regarded this may be guessed by their first act after the conclusion of the Diet. They petitioned the Queen that the deputies of the other orders might be punished for their insolent speeches, especially those regarding the Crown lands. Christina answered, "I am ruler

* Rādsprot, den 28 Oct., 1650.

over poor as well as rich, and every one has a right to speak his mind in a free Diet." *

The nobles also had their grievances. They complained that the Queen discouraged their having private chaplains, and they renewed a demand that the offices of the State might be more exclusively confined to their order.

Christina told them, in reply, that the Church and the service of God were common to all, and that they ought to attend their own parish churches. It was a proof of the great power of the nobles, that, after all the agitation, they received no serious check, and this is the more remarkable because they had no regular leader. Oxenstiern was restrained by the memory of his friend, and by love for his country, from proceeding to extremities, and no one else could presume to lead a party to which Oxenstiern belonged.

The nobles were, moreover, divided amongst themselves. The descendants of ancient families, who were also the owners of vast estates, looked with disdain on the newly-created nobles. They cared little for employment under the Crown, except for the sake of keeping power in their own

* Fryxell. 9 Delen, p. 94.

hands; their aspirations were republican, and they aimed at a constitution like that of Venice. The new nobles felt some gratitude to the Sovereign for their elevation: at least, the gratitude described by La Rochefoucauld, as "the lively anticipation of future benefits." Their fortunes were generally insufficient to support their dignity without the aid of some lucrative office. Self-interest kept these men loyal.

Many of them were ennobled as a reward for their abilities and services, and it was the natural policy of the Crown to retain men whose usefulness had already been proved.

A considerable degree of animosity prevailed between these two divisions of the nobles, and one of the bitterest complaints the high aristocracy made against the Queen was the number of her new creations.*

It was during these troubles that Christina pondered over a scheme for settling the succession. When she finally rejected Charles Gustavus as a suitor, she promised never to marry any other, and, if possible, to get him named her successor.

* 'She created eight counts, 24 barons, and 128 inferior nobles.' Catteau Calleville. Tome I., p. 276.

She was moved to this resolution by zeal for the welfare of the country. Her own branch of the Vasa family would expire with herself, and she knew that some of the great nobles would try to establish a Republic, and others would endeavour to elect a member of another family as king.* Either of these courses would probably lead to anarchy and civil war.

At the present time the disaffected were encouraged by the fact that there was no Heir-Apparent to the throne.

Christina had proved the abilities of Charles Gustavus in various ways, and she had no nearer relation except such as were excluded by their religion from wearing the crown of Sweden.

Her choice would have been in every respect a judicious one, if Charles Gustavus had not cherished a frantic love of war, which his descendants inherited from him, and which in the time of his grandson caused Sweden to fall into the rank of a third-rate power.

Christina first proposed Charles Gustavus as her successor in February, 1649, to the surprise and consternation of the Senate, whose members saw

* Puffendorf, 'Commentar. de. Reb. Car. Gust.' Lib. I. p. 2.

that, if the measure was carried, an end would be put to all their schemes for the subversion of the monarchy.

The Queen introduced the subject by referring to the wish they had so often expressed for her marriage. She said that she appreciated the foresight of those who loved their country and wished to prevent the troubles which might arise if she were to die without a recognized successor. This care concerned her more than any one else, as from the moment she assumed the government she had consecrated her life to the service of the State. She could not make up her mind to endure the restraints of marriage, and therefore felt bound to provide for the safety of the kingdom in some other way, so as to relieve her subjects from apprehension in case of her death. For these reasons she proposed as her successor the Prince Charles Gustavus, who was of the blood royal, and who possessed the requisite qualities for so great an office. She asked the Senate to confirm her choice, and informed them that she intended to propose Charles Gustavus to the deputies of the different orders that very day. The Senate appear to have been taken by surprise. A profound silence fol-

lowed her announcement, after which a number of Senators spoke at once, and with no little vehemence, in opposition to her proposal. Christina replied she was well aware that some of them considered her the last of her race, and that they hoped after her death to take part in the election of another family.

She informed these individuals that no member of any of their houses was preferable to the Prince.

Some others, she said, wished to establish an aristocratic republic, but these thought more of their own interests than of their country, which was not suited to such a government. She would herself direct her thoughts and exertions towards a republic, if she believed it to be desirable for Sweden, but she knew that such a constitution would not suit her people. She thought it most unadvisable to interrupt a monarchy which had endured so many ages.

The Senators said that they would vote for the Prince, if Christina should unfortunately die without children; but they hinted at the danger which might arise if she should marry anyone else than the Prince, in which case the proposed settlement of the crown would only lead to civil war.

Christina pledged her word that she would never marry anyone but the Prince, and said that a civil war would be more probably caused by the rivalry of the houses of Brahe and Oxenstiern.

As the Senate refused to yield, Christina appealed separately to the deputies of the different orders. They all hesitated at first, and begged her to remove the difficulty by her marriage; but at length the clergy, citizens, and peasants agreed to the nomination of Charles Gustavus. Christina was obliged to win her way step by step. Her old friend Matthiæ said that she was bound by the Constitution to marry, in order to secure the succession. Christina denied this was the case, upon which the Bishop changed his tone, and said that all Europe had understood she would marry the Prince, and would think her refusal very strange. Christina replied, "When they have talked about it enough they will find some other subject of conversation." To Torstenson's objections she answered, "If I marry the Prince, you will, no doubt, recognize his children as heirs to the throne; but if I die, you will not let him mount the throne."

Torstenson said that the same difficulty would

be repeated if the Prince were to succeed her, because he would never marry anyone but herself. "Ah!" replied she, "love does not burn for one alone, and the Crown is a fair maid."

She admitted that Charles Gustavus had no positive title to the throne, and asked for his nomination as a favour.

"I have," she said, "no other object than the happiness and security of the kingdom; for if I die whilst you are undetermined about my successor, you will quarrel among yourselves, for more than one will certainly aspire to the throne."*

Christina pushed the advantage she had gained; she repeated her arguments to the nobles, and warned them of the danger they would run of being obliged to accept a king chosen by the other orders.

At last everyone was won over except Oxenstiern, who said that if his grave were open before him, he would rather enter it at once than subscribe to the Prince's nomination.

* She wrote to the Prince: 'God is my witness that my aim is, first of all, the happiness of my people, and, next, your advantage.' F. F. Carlsson, 'Sverige s Historia under Koninngarne af Pfalziska Huset.'

The act nevertheless passed, and the Prince was formally declared heir to the throne on his return to Sweden. He received the title of Royal Highness, and a revenue for the maintenance of a court. It was proposed to grant him some province, but Christina said it was a secret of the royal family never to give a province to an hereditary Prince.

Her decision was a prudent one: the contentions between the children of Gustavus Vasa had been caused by the neglect of this secret, and the history of Sweden abounds with instances of the calamities caused by giving independent governments to Princes of the Blood.

Charles Gustavus swore to observe the following conditions:—To obey Christina as his lawful sovereign; to undertake no important affair without the knowledge and consent of the Queen and the Senate; and to respect the rights of each order and of every individual, if he should succeed to the throne.

Christina's health had never been good. It had lately been worse than usual, and may have been partly the cause, and partly the consequence, of her anxiety about her successor. Chanut, in his memoirs, frequently alludes to her illnesses, and

considers them to have been caused by over-work. There was, undoubtedly, another cause in the ignorance of her doctors. She suffered frequently from intermittent fever, a complaint which is now generally understood to require the treatment of tonics. The remedy applied by the Swedish doctors was bleeding. The opinion may be asserted without much risk, that nothing could have been more injurious to Christina. Bleeding is not only bad for intermittent fever, but, as every one is now aware, the frequent recourse to it is apt to injure the healthy action of the brain.

A want of blood, which is its nutriment, must be especially felt when the brain is very severely taxed; for we know that when excessive labour is continued, without care being taken to supply the waste which it causes, some permanent injury is generally the result.

Christina's energy was so great that, even immediately after she had been bled, she took no respite from the most harassing affairs.

It is probable that not only her constitution but even her intellect was injured by this over-work, combined with bad medical treatment. Her nervous system suffered from the same causes. Fever and

bleeding left behind them an exhaustion which may have gone far to produce the craving she presently felt for repose, although repose could never have been natural to a mind of such power and vivacity.

She had severe attacks in 1646 and 1647; but in 1648, the period of her greatest anxiety about the treaty, she had no less than three dangerous illnesses. Her friends complained that she only allowed five hours for sleep, and that, notwithstanding the extreme fatigue she underwent both in body and mind, she never drank anything but water.*

Maria Leonora outstaid her welcome in Denmark, and resided afterwards in Germany. She returned to Sweden in September, 1648, and Christina embarked in an open boat at Dahleroen for the purpose of meeting her. Contrary winds obliged the young Queen to remain in the boat all night, and the following day it blew such a gale of wind

* 'Vossius speaks of this diet in a letter to Heinsieus:—Creditur hoc malum sibi conciliasse ex nimio aquæ hausta. Nullo siquidem alio hoc tempore utitur potu incomperabilis nostra Domina quam aqua cruda.'—Archenholtz, Vol. I., p. 211.

that she was obliged to abandon the intention of going on board her mother's ship, and it was with some difficulty that she regained the shore. The royal ladies met the next day, when Christina showed none of that want of affection towards her mother with which she had formerly been charged.

The fatigue and exposure she went through on this occasion caused a return of her fever, notwithstanding which she started almost immediately on an expedition to the mines of Fahlun. She took a great interest in these works, and Chanut, who accompanied her, had great difficulty in dissuading her from descending one of the deepest mines.

Few persons can penetrate a thousand feet into the bowels of the earth without some unpleasant feelings, and the French Minister was no doubt better pleased with substantial samples of the produce which the Queen gave him, than he would have been with a personal inspection of the mine.

In 1651, the doctors were thoroughly alarmed at her state of health. She had fainting fits which lasted for hours, and which resembled death so closely that her pulse stopped, and on recovering from one of them she told her doctor

that she had never expected to hear his voice again.*

Chanut persuaded the Queen to begin the study of Descartes' philosophy during their journey to Fahlun. Chanut was a friend of the great philosopher's, and carried on an active correspondence with him. Descartes' temper was naturally peevish, and about this time he was disgusted with writing, because so few people understood or noticed his works. Chanut urged him to continue for the sake of the few, but received rather an ungracious reply. Descartes said, "If I had been as sagacious as monkeys are supposed by savages to be, I should never have been known as an author. It is said they suppose that monkeys could talk if they liked, and that they refrain from doing so for the sake of their own peace and quiet. Because I have not had the same prudence in abstaining from writing, I do not enjoy the leisure and repose I should have done if I had been wise enough to keep silence." †

Christina was already acquainted with some of Descartes' works, and had propounded some difficult moral questions to him through the medium

* Chanut, Tome I., p. 220.

† Baillet, 'Vie de Descartes,' p. 282, 283. Paris, 1691.

of Chanut, such questions as Socrates would have loved to discuss with his disciples.

One of them was, "Whether love or hatred produced the most evil, when misapplied?"

Descartes divided the question into three heads:—

1st. What is love?

2nd. Does natural reason alone teach us to love God?

3rd. Which of the two misapplications is the worst, that of love, or of hatred?

In describing the nature of love, Descartes appeared decidedly out of his depth.

He gave an illustration from his own experience when a child. He was then in love with a little girl who squinted, and for many years afterwards he felt peculiar tenderness for people who had that defect.

He admitted that the third head, which was really the question, was the most difficult.

He said that at first it seems worse to love an unworthy object than to hate a worthy one, because it is worse to be joined to what is evil than merely to be separated from something good He thought, however, that these arguments were

overruled by the consideration that love always desires good for its object, and cannot therefore corrupt us so much as hatred, which desires only evil. Hatred is always gloomy and morose, and the pleasure derived from gratifying it is the pleasure of demons.

Still the philosopher said, "that if asked which of the two passions carries us to the greatest excesses, and makes us capable of doing the most harm to others, he must admit that it is love, because this passion has the most energy and force. He admitted that anger gives energy, but maintained that this energy was derived from the love which men have for themselves.*

Chanut showed this dissertation to the Queen, who admired the sentiments contained in it, and said, "So far as I can perceive by this writing, and by the account which you give me of Mr. Descartes, he is the happiest of men. I beg you will do me the favour to assure him of my esteem."

The admiration which Christina felt for him seems to have been reciprocated by Descartes He expressed his surprise that she understood so readily things which many learned men found

* Lettres de Descartes, Paris, 1724.

obscure ;* and when her approbation was communicated to him, he wrote to Chanut, "that he was overpowered with joy at hearing that this great Queen condescended to read and meditate over his writings; he hoped that the study would be useful to her, and through her influence the public in general."†

His admiration seems to have gone on increasing, for, in one of the last letters he wrote to Chanut, before leaving Holland, he said, "It appears to me that this Princess is created more in the image of God than the rest of mankind, inasmuch as her mind is able to embrace a greater number of subjects at the same time."‡

* 'Qu'elle a si facilement entendu des choses que les plus doctes estiment très obscures.'—Lettres de Descartes, Tome I, p. 183.—Lettre à Chanut, 6 June, 1647.

† . . . . . 'l'extrême joye que j'ai d'aprendre que cette grande Reine veuille lire et considérer à loisir les écrits que j'ai envoyez : car j'ose me promettre que si elle gôute les pensées qu'ils contiennent, elles ne seront pas infructueuses, et pour ce qu'elle est une des importantes personnes de la terre, que cela même peut n'être pas inutile au public.'—Lettres de Descartes, Tome I., p. 195.

‡ 'Il me semble que cette Princesse est bien plus crée à l'image de Dieu que le reste des hommes, d'autant qu'elle peut étendre ses soins à plus grand nombre de diverses occupations, en même temps.'—Lettres de Descartes. Tome I., p. 198.—Lettre à Chanut, 26 Feb., 1649.

Another of Christina's questions was, "What is the chief good?"

It cannot be uninteresting to know the opinion of so profound a thinker as Descartes, on a subject of such universal interest.

He wrote from Egmond, the 20th of November, 1647. After some general opinions on the good of all mankind, he proceeded to examine what is the chief good as applicable to each individual.

He said: "The good of every person consists only in the firm determination to do what is right, and in the tranquillity which results from this determination.

"My reason for thinking so is, that I can find no other good so great, or which is so entirely in every one's power. The advantages of the body and of fortune do not depend altogether upon ourselves; those of the mind may all be referred to two divisions, one of which is to know, and the other to desire, what is good. The knowledge of what is good, however, is often beyond our power; and all that we can absolutely dispose of, is our will. I do not see how the will can be better employed than in maintaining a firm and constant resolution to do always exactly what we believe to

be best, and in using the whole force of our intellect to discover it."*

This definition of the chief good is susceptible of practical application, and is therefore better than the vague eulogies on truth so pompously enunciated by many other philosophers.

Bacon wrote an eloquent essay on the chief good, or truth, but he gave so little help towards finding it, that he tempts us to say with Pilate,—What is truth?†

Descartes had written some letters to the Princess Palatine Elizabeth, grand-daughter of James I., on the same subject; but as he did not consider it respectful to send letters to Christina which had been intended for anyone else, he only enclosed them to Chanut for her perusal. A profound and practical wisdom breathes through these meditations. He says, "We should consider everything we do not actually possess, as equally out of our power, by which means we shall cease to desire

* Lettres de Descartes, Tome 1., p. 10.

† 'Truth, which doth only judge itself, teacheth that the inquiry of truth, which is the love-making or wooing of it the knowledge of truth, which is the presence of it; and the belief of truth, which is the enjoying of it: is the sovereign good of human nature.'—Bacon's Essay on Truth.

them: for three things chiefly disturb our peace desire, regret, and repentance.

"We do not desire things which we know are impossible to obtain: no one desires more arms or more tongues than he has.

"We desire better health, or more riches, because we believe these may be acquired by our conduct.

"If we feel that we have always followed the dictates of our reason, and have omitted nothing in our power, we may then dismiss this idea, and only consider that sickness and misfortune are not less natural to man than health and prosperity."*

It would have been happy for Christina if she had held these maxims in her heart, for she desired things as impossible as more arms or more tongues: she desired fame combined with tranquillity. She wished to unite the excitement of action with the calm of meditation, yet she renounced the only sphere of action and of contemplation which would have been useful to herself and to her people. From that time her peace was destined to be destroyed by desire, regret, and repentance.

* Lettres de Descartes, p. 17.

The result of this correspondence was, that early in 1649 Descartes received an invitation, through Chanut, to visit Stockholm.

Chanut had some difficulty in persuading him to accept his invitation. To the minister's first overture she replied, "A man born in the gardens of Touraine, and now residing in a country, less abundant, indeed, in honey, but flowing with milk, more, perhaps, than the promised land of the Israelites, cannot easily resolve to go and live in the country of bears, amid rocks and ice."*

He knew that learning was not held in much estimation amongst the Swedish nobility, and he apprehended the difficulties he would meet with as a foreigner and a Catholic.

At last, however, he yielded to the solicitations of Chanut and of Freinshemius.

He arrived in Stockholm early in October, and was received at Chanut's house. The next morning he paid his respects to the Queen, who received him with great cordiality. She also granted an interview to the pilot of the ship which had brought him over, and asked the seaman what sort of a person he had conveyed to her.

* Memoirs of Huet, Bishop of Avranches. Vol. I., p. 81.

"Madam," replied the pilot, "it is not a man I have brought your Majesty, but a demi-god. He has taught me more of the science of navigation in three weeks, than I have learned in fifty years' experience at sea."*

Christina wished to study the new philosophy when her mind was most tranquil and disengaged. She therefore desired Descartes to come to her every morning at five o'clock.

It does not exactly appear how far the philosopher was satisfied with his royal pupil. He ought to have been pleased at her independent way of thinking, but she touched upon a tender point when she told him that his system of ideas was taken from Plato.†

Descartes was not content to be esteemed the founder of a system essentially original. He claimed each particular point of it as solely and entirely his own. In his Treatise on Logic he

* 'Vie de Descartes,' p. 338.

† 'Als Cartesius ihr seine Ideenlehre vortrug, soll sie ihm bedeutet haben, dass dieses sein System aus Plato geschöpft sei.' —Grauert, Vol. I., p. 396.

'Dogmata ejus metaphysica, velut circa ideas a sensibus remotas, et animæ distinctionem a corpore, et fluxam per se rerum materialium fidem, prorsus Platonica sunt.'—Leibnitz, Apud Hallam, Vol. II., p. 462.

ignored Bacon's "Novum Organum." In his Dioptrics, he announced his own discovery of the laws of refraction, although a Dutch geometer, Willebrod Snell, had discovered the same laws twenty years before; and Hortensius, a Dutch professor, had publicly taught the system of his countryman in Holland, where Descartes had long resided.

He has also been accused of plagiarism from our own countryman Harriott, in his theory of geometrical curves.* This charge was made against him in his lifetime, and he replied by a positive assertion of his own originality.

If, as many people suppose, Descartes was really original, and these coincidences were purely accidental, it must have annoyed the philosopher to have his discoveries impugned by a young lady of twenty-four, who was, moreover, prepared to expound every page of Plato to which she referred.

* 'The charge of plagiarism from Harriott was brought against Descartes in his life-time. Roberval, when an English gentleman showed him the Artis Analyticæ Praxis, exclaimed eagerly, "Il l'a vu! Il l'a vu!"'

'It is also a very suspicious circumstance, if true, and it appears to be, that Descartes was in England the year, 1631, that Harriott's work appeared.'—Hallam Lit., Vol. III., p. 183.

It is at least no slight proof of her quickness and intelligence, that she noticed a coincidence which appears at that time to have escaped his numerous critics, for Leibnitz gave his opinion several years afterwards, and he might perhaps have been more charitable if he had known that a similar charge would be made against himself, and that he would be accused of taking his theory of the Differential Calculus from Newton.

Descartes' letters to the Princess Elizabeth do not betray any dissatisfaction; he tells her that Christina united a majesty which showed itself in all her actions, with such mildness and goodness, as obliged all who loved virtue to devote themselves to her service.*

Descartes' was no better received, among the Swedish courtiers, than many other literary men of very inferior merit.

The nobles probably knew no better; but even the learned men about the Queen viewed the illustrious Frenchman with more jealousy than respect. His irritable temper gave some cause for this, and it appears that he was inclined to depreciate the eminent qualities of others, even when they did

* Chanut, p. 386.

not interfere with his own. He had little respect for erudition, and did not wish Christina to study Greek, or to collect ancient books. He is reported to have said one day, "that he was astonished to see Her Majesty amuse herself with such trifles; that he too had learned them at school, but congratulated himself that he had forgotten them all as soon as he arrived at years of discretion." If she had been maliciously disposed, she might have answered that he had not forgotten his Greek so entirely as he supposed. It is more probable that Descartes never made so foolish a speech, for he says explicitly in his own works, "that we should read the writings of the ancients to learn their discoveries, and to learn what remains to discover.*

There is no doubt that a very pedantic manner prevailed among the learned at this time. They heaped up quotations from ancient authors, without entering into the spirit of their wisdom. Descartes was disgusted at this style, and as his own studies concerned the mind itself rather than the printed records of its operations, he cared little for books. The forms of reasoning never won his allegiance, but he rather thought them

† 'Œuvres de Descartes.' Cousin's Ed. Tome II., p. 209.

clogs on the intellect. He said of syllogisms, that "truth often escapes from those fetters, in which those who employ them remain entangled." His contemporary, Hobbes, though of a different school of philosophy, expressed the same opinion of mere erudition, when he said, "If I had read as much as some others, I should have been as ignorant as they are."*

The learned triflers returned Descartes' contempt, and considered his most profound speculations as little better than dreams. Each thought their own branch of knowledge the only one worth cultivation, but the readers of many books were furnished with a weapon against the philosopher, when his ignorance or disregard of what others had done, rendered him obnoxious to the charge of plagiarism.

Christina's character in this respect presents a favourable contrast to that of her teachers. She encouraged and sought out every kind of excellence. Philosophers, philologists, mathematicians, artists, even printers received a share of her favour and support.

She extended no languid and haughty patron-

† 'Dugald Stewart's First Dissertation.'

age like Louis XIV.; genius ever found in her ready appreciation and kindred sympathy. Her love of knowledge was so general, that she could hardly be said to have had any favourite study, yet she followed each subject with as much zeal as if all her interest was directed to that alone.

If she did not adopt the Cartesian doctrines with implicit faith, she fully appreciated the genius of their author. She carried, as far as he did, his great principle of asserting the right of reason against prescriptive authority. Like him she did not introduce this liberty into religion, although she escaped no better than he did from charges of atheism.

Descartes not only observed the ordinances of religion punctually himself, but he blamed the boldness of those philosophers and mathematicians who determined so confidently what God could, and what he could not, do.

He said that the truth of geometrical theorems, and every axiom of intuitive certainty, depended upon the will of God.*

* His own words are, 'C'est en effet parler de Dieu comme d'un Jupiter ou d'un Saturne et l'assujettir au Styx et aux Destinées, que de dire que ces vérités sont indépendantes de lui.' Œuvres. Vol. VI., p. 109.

It has been supposed that the fate of Galileo led Descartes to use these expressions, yet they are perfectly consistent with his sceptical philosophy. Reason itself becomes the object of his scepticism, and he doubts whether after all his care in observing its operations, the whole may not be false as a dream. Christina's opinions resembled those of Descartes on this point. She considered religion and philosophy as two distinct things, of which the latter alone came within the province of speculation and doubt.* The charge of irreligion brought against Descrates and his illustrious pupil was very unjust, and was more deserved by those divines who framed their theology on the Platonic philosophy, who raised subtle and often frivolous questions which can never be solved, and who displayed far less reverence for religion than those whom they accused of atheism. They would have served religion better by observing the maxim of Descartes, "to confine their meditations to

* Bacon expressed the same opinion when he said, 'Both religion and philosophy have received, and may receive, extreme prejudice by being commixed together, thereby making an heretical religion, and an imaginary and fabulous philosophy.' 'Advancement of Learning.' Chap. II.

subjects which are within the reach of human faculties."*

Although Christina countenanced no encroachments on the province of religion, she could not allow philosophy to be warped to suit certain theological dogmas.

In a letter which I have quoted at length, she prohibited any more priests from being professors of philosophy in the University of Upsala.† It may

* 'Il ne faut nous occuper que des objets dont notre esprit parôit capable d'acquerir une connoissance certaine and indubitable.' Œuvres, Tome II., p. 204.

† 'Aiant appris Mrs. le Pro-Chancelier, Recteur et Pro fesseurs de notre Academie d'Upsal, qu'il y a quelque confusion dans l'instruction de la Jeunesse chez vous, en ce qu'il y à eu parmi les Professeurs de la faculté de la philosophie des personnes qui out pris l'ordre de la Pretrise—C'est pourquoi nous avons trouvé bon, et résolu, que ci-apres, ces charges seront éxercées par des Laïques ou personnes revêtues d'emplois civiles; de sorte qu' à l'avenir nul Théologien ou Prêtre (á l'exception de ceux qui occupent actuellement quelqu'une des chaires de Professeur en Philosophie) n'y sera plus admis. Nous vous notifions par cette, notre ordonnance gracieuse, que c'est notre bon plaisir, lequel nous voulons qu'il vous serve de regle, que vous n'admetiez plus dorenevant aucun Théologien á l'une ni à l'autre chaire de la faculté de Philosophie, ni que vous laissiez prendre l'ordre de Prêtrise à aucun Laïque pendant qu'il traite les études de Philosophie, afin que notre Ordonnance ne soit violée en manière quelconque.'

Donné a Stockholm ce 5 Novembre, l'an 1651. Archenholtz. Vol. I., p. 350.

be supposed that such an order was very distasteful to the clergy, who saw themselves thus excluded from a subject which they expected to monopolize. They required no further provocation to make them withdraw the political support which for a time they had rendered to the Queen.

One way in which they punished her was by the prolixity of their discourses, which to any one of Christina's temperament must have been almost distracting.

She continued punctual in her attendance at Church, but frequently betrayed her impatience by moving her chair or by playing with her little dog.

The merciless preachers were all the more firmly resolved to continue their lectures and detain her all the longer for these marks of weariness.*

A French Roman Catholic in Sweden gives a similar account of her behaviour in Church.

"The Queen would sometimes sit on one chair and lean her head on another, and if the priests (who are great chatterers in this country, like M. Luther their master) were too long about their sermons, her amusement was to play with two

* Ranke, 'History of the Popes.' Vol. II., p. 359.

little spaniels that always accompanied her, or to talk with one of her attendants."*

It must be remembered, in extenuation of this behaviour, that the formal decorum which is now observed in Church, is of recent date. A very different manner prevailed in the 17th century. Pepys mentions that on Christmas-day, 1662, when Morley, Bishop of Winchester, preached at Whitehall, "the people in the Chapel laughed when he reflected on their ill actions and courses."†

In the Catholic Churches, dramatic performances (commedia) took place, which were often interrupted by quarrels and fights between the ladies‡: and the merchants used to transact their business in the middle aisle of St. Paul's Cathedral, before Sir Thomas Gresham built the Royal Exchange.§

Descartes did not live to expound his works fully to the Queen. He had been used to a life of personal inactivity. From his youth he was accustomed to remain late in bed, and to meditate

* 'Adieux des François á la Suède.' Cologne, 1668.
† Pepys' 'Diary.' Vol. II., p. 85.
‡ 'Carrafas of Maddaloni.' P. 198-218.
§ Aikin's 'Queen Elizabeth.' Vol. II., p. 3.

there on mathematics and philosophy. To rise at four in the morning during a Swedish winter was too great a trial for him. He died in February, 1650, fifty three years old: an early age considering that he had endured few hardships, suffered little anxiety, and committed no excesses.

Christina showed no philosophical indifference at the death of her illustrious master. She received the news with a flood of tears, and her only consolation was to consider how she could do the most honour to his memory.

She expressed a desire that he should be buried by the side of the Kings her ancestors, from which she was with difficulty dissuaded.

When the remains of Descartes were some years afterwards removed to France, she said that if she had remained in Sweden, she would never have allowed that treasure to be taken away.

Descartes would perhaps have expressed himself more clearly on some scientific subjects, if he had not feared the censure of his Church. He was inclined to suppress his *Système du Monde,* when he heard of the persecution to which Galileo had been subjected. With all his care his works were looked on suspiciously, even though he had some

zealous personal friends among his old masters the Jesuits. In 1637 a librarian in Rome ventured to order twelve copies of his treatise, "provided it contained nothing about the movement of the earth."*

The Protestants were equally intolerant. One of his bitterest adversaries was Gishert Voet, professor of theology at Utrecht, who had already distinguished himself by a dissertation in which he said, "that the movement of the earth, as described by Kepler, was directly and evidently opposed to the authority of Holy Scripture, and did not agree with the light of reason."

This man instituted a prosecution against Descartes, which was only stopped by the interference of the Prince of Orange.

The University of Leyden took the lead in the outcry against the Cartesian doctrines, and their founder was not accused here of Atheism, but of Pelaganism and Popery. Descartes would never have disputed the latter charge. He always professed to be a staunch Roman Catholic, and as both friends and enemies proclaimed the influence

* 'Vie de Descartes,' p. 302. Baillet, Paris, 1691.

he had exercised on Christina's religious opinions, it is necessary to keep this fact in mind.

The rancour of his enemies was fully equalled by the zeal of his friends. Chanut's attachment to him has already been mentioned; but it was exceeded by that of Chanut's brother-in-law, Mr. Clerselier. This gentleman married his daughter to a Mr. Rochault, chiefly because he was an able supporter of Cartesianism.

The Princess Elizabeth was still more devoted; she was said to have refused the hand of the King of Poland, that the philosophy of Descartes might have no rival in her affections.

The philosopher's correspondence with the Princess has already been quoted, and his friendship for her was one of the most amiable traits in his character. During his residence in Sweden he constantly endeavoured to create a mutual esteem between her and Christina, and omitted no opportunity of serving the interests of the Princess.

The Cartesian system was opposed by others, besides those who objected to it on theological grounds. Gassendi was the most eminent man of this class; and although the two philosophers propounded rival systems, they for some time con-

tinued friends. At last, however, passion usurped the place of argument. Gassendi playfully addressed his great rival, "O anima," in allusion to his doctrine of innate ideas. Descartes retorted angrily, and called his rival, repeatedly, "O caro" (flesh), with reference to his theory that all knowledge was derived through the senses. Another cause of hostility appeared to be that Gassendi, like Michael Angelo, was profuse in his praises of others, but expected to be repaid in the same way.

Descartes not only omitted to return his praises, but in his Treatise on Meteors, appropriated some of Gassendi's labours without acknowledgment.

The result was that by his own confession he handled Descartes' metaphysics more severely than he would have done, if he had not been affronted.*

Gassendi himself was one of the ablest men of his time. His system was not published until 1658, so that in his "Syntagma Philosophicum," he had the advantage of the last word. He started from different premisses, and is said to have been the first in modern times who aimed at deriving all ideas from the senses.† In his sys-

* Vie de Descartes, p. 135, 136.

† 'Biographie Universelle.'—Art. Gassendi.

tem, his opinions are so much modified from those which he expressed in his attack on Descartes, that he has been accused of conducting the latter with more regard to victory than to truth.

In his system, although he says that every idea in the mind is ultimately derived from the senses, yet he admits that the mind has the power of making general ideas out of a number of separate ones.

He also notices the power of the mind to act on and understand itself, and states that this power is superior to any possessed by material substances.

He distinctly admits both the immateriality and immortality of the soul, so that he did not really deserve the appellation, "O caro."

Christina seems to have been more inclined towards the opinions of Gassendi than those of Descartes, notwithstanding her regard for the latter.

Her first acquaintance with Gassendi's works was through her doctor, Bourdelot, who, as will presently be shown, was accused of exercising a most injurious influence on her mind, and especially of giving her a distaste for all intellectual employment. The testimony against Bourdelot is so strong, that it is satisfactory to find some posi-

tive evidence which indicates that the accusations were not all merited, and which may also lead us to suppose that the change in Christina's character has been much exaggerated.

Christina was particularly gratified by Gassendi's homage. His first letter was addressed to her in July, 1652,* and the philosopher had no cause to complain that she did not reciprocate his flattering expressions. In her answer she said, "You are so universally honoured by all sensible people, and they speak of you with such veneration, that it would be a disgrace to admire you moderately. Do not, therefore, be surprised that a person should be found in this remote corner of the world who esteems you infinitely, nor think it strange that she has engaged your friends to let you know that she is not so far removed as to disregard your merit.

"I am greatly obliged to him who has informed you of my sentiments towards you, and the more so that this service is one among the many others that he has rendered me.

* 'This is the letter already quoted, in which he said that Plato's wish was fulfilled in her. He compares Gustavus Adolphus to Jupiter, and Christina to Minerva.'—Archenholtz, App. 21.